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ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

RESEARCH CENTRE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY  
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

# ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ

17

YIANNIS E. MEIMARIS  
IN COLLABORATION WITH  
K. KRITIKAKOU and P. BOUGIA

CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS IN ROMAN-BYZANTINE  
PALESTINE AND ARABIA  
THE EVIDENCE OF THE DATED GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

ATHENS 1992

DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD - 11, RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS



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*To all students of Byzantine Archaeology  
this book is affectionately dedicated*





## PREFACE

The numerous ruins of the once prosperous Greek towns of Palestine and Arabia, as well as of the villages in their surrounding countryside, have produced to the present day, among other things, many Greek inscriptions rich in historic and literary content. These inscriptions confirm the expansion of the Greek language and culture beyond the government offices of the cities into the countryside, even among the indigenous population.

Although most of these inscriptions have been studied and published, the knowledge to be gained from them has not been exhausted and much remains for the researcher to accomplish. My continual involvement with the Greek epigraphic material found in the Holy Land directed me to the rich resource available in the inscriptions, especially the dated ones which exhibit great diversity in eras and calendars and widespread occurrence of Macedonian month names, for a study of the chronological systems used in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia.

Following the rule that it is the duty of every educated man to endeavour to add something to the inherited aggregate of knowledge, I decided in the early 1980's to begin an examination of the peculiarities in these various chronological systems. Within the framework of the "Palestine" project undertaken by the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, my goal was to produce a manual for use by all interested scholars but, in particular, by archaeologists and colleagues in related disciplines. A work of reference that would help them to avoid misdating, misreading and misunderstanding the numerous Greek inscriptions which they must consult on an almost daily basis.

In 1987 the study received great impetus from the full-time assistance of Miss K. Kritikakou and Miss P. Bougia, only to be thwarted mid-way when, due to severe economic conditions, it was deprived not only of the important work of Miss Bougia but also of financial resources for publication. My search for alternate publication support was rewarded by the generosity of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Archbishopric of Mount Sinai.

At the culmination of these long years of dedicated effort, I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to the following: the Eretz Israel Committee on the Edition of a Corpus of Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Palestine for permitting me to work on the Greek inscriptions from AD 1 to the Arab conquest of Palestine; to the Antiquities Authority of Israel for granting me access to their files and for permitting me to refer to the unpublished inscriptions; to His Beatitude Diodoros, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and to His Eminence Damianos, Archbishop of Mount Sinai, for covering the cost of publication, an act which I consider a gesture of recognition of my scientific work in the areas under their spiritual jurisdiction. My most sincere thanks to my collaborators Miss K. Kritikakou and Miss P. Bougia for their excellent and careful scientific work; to the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity of the National Hellenic Research Foundation for including this book among its publications and to its Acting Director, Professor M. Hatzopoulos, who was kind enough to read through the completed manuscript.

Y.E.M.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAES</i>	Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria.
<i>AASOR</i>	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
<i>ADAJ</i>	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
<i>Aegyptus</i>	Aegyptus. Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia.
<i>AEMÖU</i>	Archäologisch – Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich und Ungarn.
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology.
<i>AJPh</i>	American Journal of Philology.
<i>ʿAlon</i>	ʿAlon. Bulletin of the Israel Department of Antiquities (Hebrew).
Alt, <i>Griechische Inschriften</i>	A. Alt, <i>Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der ʿAraba</i> (Berlin and Leipzig 1921).
<i>AnalBoll</i>	Analecta Bollandiana.
<i>ANRW</i>	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt.
<i>AnzWien</i>	Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>AO</i>	Archiv Orientalni.
Arvanitakis, <i>Χρονολογία</i>	G.L. Arvanitakis, <i>Χρονολογία τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ νεωτέρων Ἑλληνῶν: Σχεδιάσμα</i> (Athens 1940).
<i>Athenaeum</i>	Athenaeum. Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell' Antichità.
<i>ʿAtiqot</i>	ʿAtiqot. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities.
Avi-Yonah, <i>Gazetteer</i>	M. Avi-Yonah, <i>Gazetteer of Roman Palestine (Qedem 5, Jerusalem 1976)</i> .
Avi-Yonah, <i>Holy Land</i>	M. Avi-Yonah, <i>The Holy Land, from the Persian to the Arab Conquests (536 B.C. to A.D. 640). A Historical Geography</i> (Grand Rapids 1966).

- Bagnall et al.,  
*Consuls* R. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S.R. Schwartz and K.A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire (Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 36, Atlanta 1987)*.
- BAH* Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient.
- BAR-S* British Archaeological Reports. International Series.
- BASOR* Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- BASP* Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists.
- BCH* Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
- BE* Bulletin Epigraphique in *REG*.
- BIAO* Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Bickerman,  
*Chronology* E.J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London 1968).
- BMB* Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth.
- Cagnat R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, 4th ed. (Rome 1976).
- Canova R. Canova, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab (Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana IV, Rome 1954)*.
- CIG* Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
- Clermont-  
Ganneau, *ARP* *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873-1874*, 2 vols. (London 1896-1899).
- CPh* Classical Philology.
- CRAI* Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
- DACL* Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie.
- DarSag* Ch. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris 1877- ).
- Dindorf L. Dindorf (ed.), *Chronicon Paschale*, 2 vols. (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn 1832).
- DM* Damaszener Mitteilungen.



- Dussaud-Macler, R. Dussaud and F. Macler, "Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne. Ch. II. Inscriptions grecques et latines", *NouvArch* 10 (1902), pp. 640-707.
- Dussaud-Macler, R. Dussaud and F. Macler, *Voyage archéologique au Safâ et dans le Djebel ed-Drûz* (Paris 1901).
- EchO* Echos d'Orient.
- EI* Eretz-Israel.
- Euphrosyne* Euphrosyne. Revista de Filología Clásica.
- Ewing W. Ewing, "Greek and Other Inscriptions Collected in the Hauran", *PEFQS* 1895, pp. 41-60, 131-60, 265-80, 346-54.
- Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions* P. Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions from Beer-sheva and the Negev* (Negev Museum Publication 2, Beersheba 1985).
- GA* Graeco-Arabica.
- Gatier, *Jordanie 2* P.-L. Gatier, *Inscriptions de la Jordanie*, vol. 2. *Région centrale* (Amman-Hesban-Madaba-Main-Dhiban), (*IGLS XXI, BAH CXIV*, Paris 1986).
- Georgius Cyprius* E. Honigmann (ed.), *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklys et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (*Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Forma Imperii Byzantini*- fasc. 1, Brussels 1939).
- Ginzl, *Handbuch* F.K. Ginzl, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Leipzig), vol. I (1906), vol. II (1911), vol. III (1914).
- Glucker C.A.M. Glucker, *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (*BAR-S 325*, Oxford 1987).
- GRBS* Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.
- Grumel, *Chronologie* V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (*Traité d' Etudes Byzantines I*, Paris 1958).
- Hermes* Hermes. Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie.
- HL* Heiliges Land.
- HThR* Harvard Theological Review.
- ICS* Illinois Classical Studies.

<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal.
<i>IGLS</i>	Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie .
<i>IGRR</i>	R. Cagnat, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> , reduced repr. of the Paris 1906 to 1927 ed., vol. III (Chicago 1975).
<i>INJ</i>	Israel Numismatic Journal.
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
<i>JÖAI</i>	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien.
Jones	A.H.M. Jones, <i>The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces</i> , 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford 1971).
<i>JPOS</i>	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies.
Kirk-Welles, <i>Nessana 1</i>	G.E. Kirk and C.B. Welles, "The Inscriptions" in H.D. Colt (ed.), <i>Excavations at Nessana</i> , vol. 1 (London 1962), pp. 131-97.
Kraemer, <i>Nessana 3</i>	C.J. Kraemer, Jr., <i>Excavations at Nessana</i> , vol. 3. <i>Non-Literary Papyri</i> (Princeton 1958).
Kubitschek, <i>Kalenderbücher</i>	W. Kubitschek, <i>Die Kalenderbücher von Florenz, Rom und Leyden (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch - Historische Klasse 57.3, Wien 1915).</i>
<i>LA</i>	Liber Annuus of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum.
<i>MGGW</i>	Mitteilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlich Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
<i>MNDPV</i>	Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins.
Mommsen, <i>Staatsrecht</i>	Th. Mommsen, <i>Römisches Staatsrecht</i> , 2nd unaltered repr. of the 3rd ed., 3 vols. in 5 ( <i>Handbuch der römischen Altertümer</i> I-III, Graz 1969).
<i>MUB</i>	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph. Beyrouth.
<i>Nea Sion</i>	Νέα Σιών. Periodical of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem.

<i>NGG</i>	Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen.
<i>NouvArch</i>	Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires.
<i>NZ</i>	Numismatische Zeitschrift.
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , 2nd unaltered repr., 2 vols. (New York 1970).
R. and A. Ovadia, <i>Mosaic Pavements</i>	R. and A. Ovadia, <i>Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel</i> ( <i>Bibliotheca Archaeologica</i> 6, Rome 1987).
<i>PA</i>	R.E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, <i>Die Provincia Arabia</i> , vols. I-III (Strassburg 1904-1909).
<i>PAES</i>	Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Excavations to Syria.
<i>PEFQS</i>	Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement.
<i>PEQ</i>	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
Piccirillo, <i>Chiese</i>	M. Piccirillo, <i>Chiese e mosaici della Giordania settentrionale</i> ( <i>SBFCollMin</i> 30, Jerusalem 1981).
<i>PIR</i>	Prosopographia Imperii Romani.
<i>PJ</i>	Palästina Jahrbuch.
<i>PLRE</i>	A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale and J. Morris, <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I: A.D. 260-395</i> , repr. (Cambridge 1975); J.R. Martindale, <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II: A.D. 395-527</i> (Cambridge 1980).
<i>Qadmoniot</i>	Qadmoniot. Quarterly for the Antiquities of Eretz-Israel and Bible Lands.
<i>QDAP</i>	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.
<i>Qedem</i>	Qedem. Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
<i>RAO</i>	Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale.
<i>RB</i>	Revue Biblique.
<i>RE</i>	Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll).

<i>REG</i>	Revue des Etudes Grecques.
<i>RN</i>	Revue Numismatique.
<i>RQ</i>	Römische Quartalschrift.
Samuel, <i>GRC</i>	A.E. Samuel, <i>Greek and Roman Chronology: Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity</i> ( <i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i> I.7, Munich 1972).
Sartre, <i>Bostra</i>	M. Sartre, <i>Bostra</i> ( <i>IGLS</i> XIII, fasc. 1, <i>BAH</i> CXIII, Paris 1982).
Sartre, <i>Trois études</i>	M. Sartre, <i>Trois études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine</i> ( <i>Collection Latomus</i> 178, Brussels 1982).
Saulcy	F. de Saulcy, <i>Numismatique de la Terre Sainte. Description des monnaies autonomes et impériales de la Palestine et de l'Arabie Pétrée</i> (Paris 1874).
<i>SBFCollM</i>	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (Collectio Maior).
<i>SBFCollMin</i>	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (Collectio Minor).
<i>SBMünchen</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse.
<i>SBWien</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse.
Schürer, <i>HJP</i>	E. Schürer, <i>The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)</i> . A new English version revised and edited by G. Vermes and F. Millar (vol. I, Edinburgh 1971), G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Black (vol. II, Edinburgh 1979).
Schwartz, <i>NGG</i>	E. Schwartz, "Die Aeren von Gerasa und Eleutheropolis", <i>NGG</i> 1906, pp. 340-95.
<i>SCI</i>	Scripta Classica Israelica.
<i>SEG</i>	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
Spijkerman, <i>Coins</i>	A. Spijkerman + (ed. M. Piccirillo), <i>The Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia</i> ( <i>SBFCollM</i> 25, Jerusalem 1978).
Stevenson, <i>Dictionary</i>	S.W. Stevenson, C.R. Smith and F.W. Madden, <i>A Dictionary of Roman Coins</i> (London 1964).
<i>StudAmst</i>	Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia.

<i>Synecdemus</i>	Cf. <i>Georgius Cyprius</i> .
<i>Syria</i>	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie.
<i>TAPhA</i>	Transactions of the American Philological Association.
<i>Tel Aviv</i>	Tel Aviv. Journal of the Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology.
Waddington	W.H. Waddington, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie recueillies et expliquées</i> (Paris 1870).
Welles, <i>Gerasa</i>	C.B. Welles, "The Inscriptions" in C.H. Kraeling (ed.), <i>Gerasa, City of the Decapolis</i> (New Haven 1938), pp. 355-615.
Wetzstein	J.G. Wetzstein, <i>Ausgewählte griechische und lateinische Inschriften gesammelt auf Reisen in den Trachonen und um das Haurângebirge</i> (Berlin 1864).
<i>ZDPV</i>	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

## Abbreviations of Eras

A.E.	:	<i>Era of Ascalon</i>
Az.E.	:	<i>Era of Azotos</i>
C.C.	:	<i>Civilian Consulship</i>
C.E.	:	<i>City Era</i>
E.D.	:	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>
E.E.	:	<i>Era of Eleutheropolis</i>
E.Gab.	:	<i>Era of Gaba</i>
E.H.	:	<i>Era of Hippos</i>
E.P.A.	:	<i>Era of Provincia Arabia</i>
E.Pan.	:	<i>Era of Paneas</i>
E.Pel.	:	<i>Era of Pella</i>
E.Pt.	:	<i>Era of Acco-Ptolemais</i>
E.S.	:	<i>Era of Samaria-Sebaste</i>
Gab.E.	:	<i>Gabinian Era</i>
Gad.E.	:	<i>Era of Gadara</i>
G.E.	:	<i>Era of Gaza</i>
Ger.E.	:	<i>Era of Gerasa</i>
H.E.	:	<i>Hegira Era</i>
I.	:	<i>Imperator</i>
I.C.	:	<i>Imperial Consulship</i>
Ind.	:	<i>Indiction</i>
P.E.	:	<i>Pompeian Era</i>
Ph.E.	:	<i>Era of Philadelphia</i>
R.E.	:	<i>Era of Raphia</i>
R.Y.	:	<i>Regnal Year</i>
Sc.E.	:	<i>Era of Scythopolis</i>
S.E.	:	<i>Seleucid Era</i>
T.E.	:	<i>Era of Tyre</i>
T.P.	:	<i>Tribunician Power</i>

## INTRODUCTION

The study of the Greek inscriptions from Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia and any attempt to set them against proper historical background is facilitated by the dates given in the inscriptions themselves. The present work focuses on the chronological formulae inserted in the epigraphical texts in order to provide these dates. Only texts in which absolute dates appear have been examined here.

Because of the variety of dating modes contemporaneously employed in Palestine and Arabia during the first eight Christian centuries, the identification of the underlying reckoning system is an arduous task. Moreover, although the basic chronological unit is the solar year, two additional factors complicate the conversion of an epigraphical date into its Julian equivalent: a) the exact departure point of the era within the given year (*epoch*) and b) the character of the calendar in use, i.e. its beginning and the duration of its months. In any case, the converted dates must be rendered according to the Julian year, for this was the legitimate year from 46 BC until AD 1582.

The first remarks on the chronological systems of Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia were made in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. They were included in the general studies on chronology compiled by L. Ideler (*Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 1825-26), W. Kubitschek (article "Aera" in *RE* I, 1[1893] and *Grundriß der antiken Zeitrechnung*, 1928) and F.K. Ginzel (*Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 1906-1914). But it was E. Schwartz's extensive article ("Die Aeren von Gerasa und Eleutheropolis", *NGG* 1906), dealing exclusively with the eras of these particular regions, which elucidated numerous problems related to the establishment, function and diffusion of these eras. Schwartz, based on a number of inscriptions and a vast knowledge of the local history, identified and suggested various eras. The fact that his conclusions are still valid despite the quantity of inscriptions discovered thereafter proves the scholar's keenness in the subject.

More or less at the same time, accounts of the history of urban centres and publications of epigraphical material uncovered across the territory of the provinces of Palestine and Arabia appeared which referred to particular dating systems. W. Kubitschek, who also published and commented on the ancient calendars in medieval manuscripts (*Die Kalenderbücher von*

Florenz, *Rom und Leyden*, 1915), was always interested in the chronology of the cities he treated in books (*Zur Geschichte von Städten des römischen Kaiserreiches*, 1916) or in articles. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (*ARP* 1896, *RAO*) and E. Schürer (*Die Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 1901) did not fail to mention the eras of Palestine in their accounts of the adventures and antiquities of the Holy Land. W. H. Waddington (*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie recueillies et expliquées*, 1870), R. E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski (*Die Provincia Arabia*, vol. 3, 1909), E. Littmann, D. Magie Jr. and D. R. Stuart (*Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria in Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909, 1907-1921*) as well as W.K. Prentice (*Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, 1908*) similarly commented on the reckoning modes of the province of Arabia, one of the main issues of the local epigraphy they presented.

The awareness of the complications in the indigenous chronological practices roused by the above mentioned literature or resulting from new inscriptions, occupied a considerable part of contemporaneous articles by W. Ewing, J. Rouvier, F. M. Abel, H. Vincent, S. Vailhé, A. Alt and G. E. Kirk in journals presenting the research on the specific areas (*PEFQS, RB, ZDPV, Echo, JPOS* etc.).

These treatises and shorter discussions examined only partially the problem of the various dating forms and their components. The general works did not give details necessary for the understanding of the eras and calendars and the articles – some with reasonable argumentation, some very superficial and misleading – were deprived of the wider perspective of a general survey of the dating customs. In the next generation, H. Seyrig devoted pages of his articles concerning the cities of Syria and Palestine to chronological aspects as well.

These publications provided the foundation for new handbooks on chronology in the ancient world written in the second half of our century. V. Grumel (*La Chronologie*, 1958), E.J. Bickerman (*Chronology of the Ancient World*, 1968), and A.E. Samuel (*Greek and Roman Chronology*, 1972) contributed an updated presentation of eras' epochs including annotated references to the calendars used in various parts of Palestine and Arabia. Modern scholars continue to examine the chronological features of earlier and newly found inscriptions in their articles, historical studies or epigraphical corpora (J.-P. Rey-Coquais, M. Sartre, P.-L. Gatier, H.I. MacAdam, Ph. Freeman, Z.T. Fiema, etc.) and to analyze specific chronological modes in monographs (R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 1978; R.S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S.R. Schwartz and K.A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, 1987).

The need for a fresh, comprehensive examination of the dating practices in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia became apparent when an attempt was made to justify the eras and the calendars mentioned in the in-



scriptions in light of information presented in various, sometimes contradictory, publications. Re-evaluation of the relevant material was the first step, followed by assessment of existing points of view. Ideas were advanced either to present a solution, an alternative or an explanation, or to simply enrich the argumentation of an unsettled case.

The texts of the inscriptions consulted are included in this publication to provide references for the conclusions presented herein as well as to assist the study of other issues related to this epigraphy such as the prosopography of the area, the development of titles, offices, formulae, etc. All editions of published inscriptions have been reviewed; unpublished inscriptions are clearly indicated as such. Emendations or different readings were possible on the basis of squeezes, drawings and/or photographs of the stones or mosaics. Obvious orthographic or printing errors in the transcription are corrected without mention.

The rendering of the idiosyncratic toponyms with Latin characters is based on the English editions. Site names spelled according to French or German phonological rules were adopted where the English alternative form was lacking. For economy and convenience, only those publications quoting earlier publications or those pertaining to chronological aspects are recorded in the bibliographic references preceding the text. The commentary below the epigraphical texts is strictly related to chronological questions of the particular inscription, whereas problems affecting more than one inscription are treated in the relevant introductory chapters. The latter are self-sufficient units aimed at full documentation of a particular time-reckoning system. The desire for completeness naturally results in repetition of some features within chapters. Thus, a brief reference to eras or calendars used within the context of different territories is always given. Furthermore, the general chapters on the character of the time units and their reckoning unavoidably rely on the conclusions of the chapters on the individual eras.

The book is divided into three parts: Part I introduces the reader to all the time units employed in the area and their computation. Parts II and III are devoted to the various ways to count years and months as recorded in the inscriptions. The epigrammatic conclusions at the end are a concise synthesis of all data given in parts II and III and considered from the various perspectives presented in part I.

The present volume is a product of the scrutiny of the extant epigraphic material, other related ancient sources and the relevant bibliography. It is hoped that it outlines the state of knowledge on the specific chronology and it offers useful guide-lines to exploit the dating information found in the Greek inscriptions from Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia. It should further be viewed as an invitation to all scholars dealing with Greek inscriptions or documents from these regions; fresh evidence or even another treatment of the existing material will promote this field of study. In this sense, any opinion or judgement regarding this work, or derived from it, is welcome.



# **PART I**

## **TIME UNITS AND THEIR COMPUTATION**



## Chapter 1

### ERAS

Eras enumerate the years. Their starting point is called *epoch*. A basic requirement for dating by eras is a uniform year.<sup>1</sup> Generally, eras were associated with local calendars. The etymology of the term “aera” is obscure. The earliest instance of the word’s use (in the form “era”) in connection with dating is to be found in documents from Spain (5th - 7th cent. AD). Its origin has been sought in Spanish, Latin, Arabic and even Hebrew or Gothic.<sup>2</sup> Kubitschek argued that the word is a metaplasm of the plural form of the noun “aes” (aera = amounts of money, hence fem. “aera” = number, figure).<sup>3</sup>

**Types of eras:**<sup>4</sup> The concept of dating on the basis of eras inaugurated by political events first emerged in Hellenistic times with the eras employed by the Diadochs (era of Lagids, era of Seleucids).<sup>5</sup> In due course, a whole series of other political eras were adopted in the East. Events such as the emancipation of an area or urban unit from the Seleucids or other conquerors, the creation of a new Roman province or important developments associated with the history of an area generated a series of political eras.

The eras used in Palestine and Arabia in the first eight Christian centuries (Roman – Byzantine period) are almost exclusively political ones.<sup>6</sup> The era of Diocletian – if it was ever used in Palestine – is of composite character,<sup>7</sup> although political, in the sense that it is related to the ruler’s name, it is a product of astronomical computation. The Hegira era, reckoning from a crucial event of the prophet Muhammad’s life, is a religious one.<sup>8</sup>

Some of these political eras were maintained until the eighth century AD, when due to the far-reaching political changes in the seventh century AD all the political eras vanished. Only the Seleucid one was still employed after this turning point. Some political eras were replaced by analogous ones instigated by later historical events. It is remarkable, however, that no new political eras were introduced in the area under consideration after the fourth century AD. The introduction of dating by indictions may be an explanation for this phenomenon.

The occurrence of the oldest era, the Seleucid (fall 312 BC), is represented by only eight building inscriptions ranging in date from the third down to the seventh centuries AD. The paucity of and the contradictory information furnished by the relevant material proves that this era was sporadically and exceptionally used in this region,

1. Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 70-71.

2. *RE* I, 1 (1893), cols. 611-13, s.v. Aera (W. Kubitschek); Ginzel, *Handbuch* I, p. 89.

3. *RE* I, 1 (supra note 2), col. 612; A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 4th ed. (Paris 1959), s.v. aera, p. 12.

4. For the various categories of eras see Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 70-75 and Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 246-48.

5. *RE* I, 1 (supra note 2), col. 608; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 71.

6. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 214-17; see also individual treatment of the eras in the relevant chapters.

7. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 36-40, 221.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-26.

especially after the collapse of Seleucid rule and the declaration of independence by the cities.

The first city to commemorate its liberation from the Seleucids by replacing the dynastic dating with a freedom era was Tyre (19 Oct. / 18 Nov. 126 BC). One epitaph and eight inscriptions commemorating dedications, building activity or laying out of mosaics and dating between the second and the sixth centuries AD, constitute the body of the evidence for this era. Some twenty years later Ascalon inaugurated its own liberation era (28 Oct./27 Nov. 104 BC), wishing to perpetuate the memory of its autonomy from the Seleucids and the Jews. The epigraphical evidence for this era is furnished by one honorific inscription, two building, one burial and two inscriptions of unknown character.

A whole series of freedom eras commenced in many cities of the Samaritan and Philistine coast and the Decapolis after Pompey's march in these areas resulted in the emancipation of these cities from the yoke of the Jews. Due to Pompey's initial involvement, these eras have been styled "Pompeian" for the sake of classification and convenience. However, this is not quite a legitimate heading for the eras having epochs between 64-60 BC because Pompey was in the East only between 64-63 BC. A few other eras, attested in the same areas, have been called "Gabinian" since their starting points fall within the office of Pompey's successor, Gabinius (57-55 BC), who mainly carried out the rebuilding of the ruined cities. Coins and numerous inscriptions – especially building or burial ones – witness the existence and the employment of these eras until the Muslim conquest (AD 636-640) and only three cases (P.E. nos. 10, 93, 139) occur after that time.

The era of Ptolemais, reckoning from 49 BC, sets the fashion for commemorative eras in strict terms. This specific era seems to have resulted from the impact of Caesar's visit in the area. The dates of three sixth century AD mosaic inscriptions from 'Evron are converted according to the epoch of this era.

Not only the era (28? BC), but also the new name of Samaria recalls Octavian Augustus' endowment upon Herod I. The former granted this city to the latter, who in recognition of this imperial generosity renamed it to Sebaste. Three inscriptions on portable objects are thought to be dated by this era.

The era of Caesarea Philippi is quite similar to that of Samaria-Sebaste. Its epoch (2? BC) points to the period of Philip tetrarch's (4 BC - AD 34) activity in Gaulanitis. This ruler, after having urbanized the area of Paneas, made it the capital of his kingdom. One dedicatory inscription from the city itself and a few (mainly burial) inscriptions arbitrarily dated to this era, provide information for it.

The formation of the Roman province of Arabia was commemorated by a provincial era (22 March AD 106), gradually employed starting from the centre of the former Nabataean kingdom and extending up to the desert of Negev in the south and the Trachonian plateau in the north. It is encountered on numerous dedicatory, building and burial inscriptions from the second until the late seventh - early eighth centuries AD.

An era was adopted in Eleutheropolis in AD 200 after Septimius Severus' visit in Palestine and the promotion of the little town into the capital city of an important urban unit. The fourteen sixth century AD epitaphs elucidating the character of the era have been collected in Beersheba (mainly), Kibbutz Rouhamah and Jerusalem.

Another group of rather short-lived commemorative eras is attested in a few sites of the northern boundary of Roman Arabia and in Kh. Ma'on located on the "Limes Palaestinae". These eras, for which evidence is afforded by a small number

of building and burial inscriptions, were devised in the greatest moment of each settlement's history, that is at the time it received the imperial munificence and the status of a city. A clue for the sovereign involved is provided by the name of the city. The epoch of Shuhba's local era, alluded to in one dedicatory inscription, is fixed in AD 244 on the grounds of the city's new name, Philippopolis, and its aggrandizement. This date falls in the reign of M. Iulius Philippus Senior (and M. Iulius Philippus Junior, AD 244-249), who honoured his native village by promoting it to city status. The identification of Shakka with Maximianopolis ties the epoch of the city era with the career of the tetrarch Maximian (AD 286-305). One burial and four building inscriptions are dated according to this era. For Burâk and Kh. Ma'on a commemorative era associated with Constantine the Great (AD 325-337) or his son Constantius (AD 337-361) is assumed. The character of a similar commemorative era at Sheikh Miskin, hinted at by a building inscription, is more obscure due to lack of evidence.

One inscription from Beth Safafa (south of Jerusalem), three from the Negev and one from the adjacent El-'Arish are tentatively grouped under the Diocletian era. It is however extremely uncertain whether this system was ever used in Palestine.

The use of the Hegira (Muhammadan) era in the period and area under consideration is attested once in the relevant epigraphy. It is combined and synchronized with dating information according to the era of Gadara in a building inscription found at Hammat Gader.

**Territory of the eras:** Reckoning by city eras was applied not only in the city itself, but also within its territory.<sup>9</sup> Hence an inscription dated by the city era, but coming from a site outside of it, implies the dependence of this minor settlement on the jurisdiction of the specific urban centre. On the contrary, the local eras of Shuhba, Shakka, Sheikh Miskin and Burâk were valid only within the refounded or enlarged city, since they owned no territory in the sense of the Palestinian cities.<sup>10</sup> The great number of city eras and the ease with which they were replaced is striking.

A survey of the eras employed in the provinces of Palestine and Arabia reveals a sharp contrast in terms of the era patterns between these two territorial and political units. While numerous city eras met the needs for time reckoning in First and Second Palestines, computation by a provincial era served as the dating system of the province of Arabia and Third Palestine (which was detached from Arabia to be annexed to Palestine). The explanation of such a phenomenon may be sought in the political and administrative structure of the two areas: in Palestine autonomous cities endowed with territories were the norm, whereas in Arabia the villages were the basis for its social and administrative organization throughout Roman times.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the lack of influential cities which would partition the Arabian province into numerous urban territories, encouraged a long and unchallenged use of the provincial era until its extinction. That the introduction of the provincial era did not suspend the use of already existing eras and did not prevent the inauguration of new

9. For the definition of city-territories in Palestine see M. Avi-Yonah, "Map of Roman Palestine", *QDAP* 5 (1936), pp. 139-93; idem, *Holy Land*, pp. 127-80; *RE* Suppl. XIII (1973), cols. 417-18, s.v. Palaestina (M. Avi-Yonah), where the map presents the partition of the land into city-territories (ca. AD 500). For a purely theoretical study on the subject see I.W.J. Hopkins, "The City Region in Roman Palestine", *PEQ* 1980, pp. 19-32.

10. Jones, *Cities*, p. 286.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 282-89.

ones<sup>12</sup> is instructively demonstrated by the instances of Gerasa, Philadelphia and Shuhba, Shakka, Sheikh Miskin and Burâk, respectively. Gerasa and Philadelphia, although belonging to Arabia from at least AD 112,<sup>13</sup> were cities of Decapolis and as such were modelled like the Palestinian independent cities which had acknowledged Roman supremacy. Their eras were at the disposal of the communities living in the territory of these cities. Shuhba, Shakka, Sheikh Miskin and Burâk on the other hand, wishing to stress their new status, replaced the current provincial era with local ones.

**Evidence for the eras:** Evidence concerning the existence and character of the various eras is provided by coins, inscriptions, papyri and citations in literary sources. Instances from the first two categories are most numerous. The abundance of numerals on coins has helped the establishment of many era epochs, but also has led to fictitious eras.<sup>14</sup> The inscriptions dated by eras – on which the present study mainly relies – are either building, dedicatory, honorific or burial ones. Dating formulae included in papyri are usually more detailed, since they were legal documents recording transactions. Sometimes correlations of dating, expressed according to more than one dating system, yield useful information for the eras involved. The epochs of some of the eras under discussion are given in the compilation of *Chronicon Paschale*.

**Designation of the eras:** Regarding the designation of the eras, the dating formulae fall into two categories: a) those recording a sole numerical value and b) those referring to the era explicitly: “κατὰ Γαζ(αίους)”, “τῆς ἐπαρχίας”, “τῆς Βοστροηνῶν”, “κατὰ Ἐλούσην(-ης)”, “κατὰ Ἐλευθεροπολίτας”, “τῆς πόλεως”, “τῆς κολων(ίας)”.

The first class comprises the majority of the inscriptions. The year numeral is usually preceded or followed by the word “ἔτους” or “ἔτει”, but in some cases it is deprived even of this word. In a very few other instances the abbreviation L of the word “λυκάβας”<sup>15</sup> introduces the year numeral. The Greek numerals – cardinals or ordinals – are ordered in ascending sequence in the eras influenced by the Greek tradition (“Pompeian” eras) and in descending sequence in those affected by other cultures (era of provincia Arabia, era of Eleutheropolis in Beersheba). The emphatic naming of the era in the second category aims to prevent confusion regarding the era involved or to stress the association of a certain individual or community with the city which invented the era.

12. *RE* I, 1 (supra note 2), col. 610.

13. P.-L. Gatier, “Philadelphie et Gerasa du royaume nabatéen à la province d’Arabie” in P.-L. Gatier, B. Helly and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (eds.), *Géographie historique au Proche-Orient (Syrie, Phénicie, Arabie grecques, romaines, byzantines), Actes de la Table Ronde de Valbonne, 1985 (Notes et Monographies Techniques du CNRS 23, Paris 1988)*, pp. 159, 166 and note 2.

14. Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 247-48; Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 74-75.

15. J. Germer-Durand, “Nouvelle exploration épigraphique de Gerasa”, *RB* 8 (1899), p. 11, no. 8. L is recorded on lead weights from Jaffa (see R.Y. no. 57) and Gerasa (P.E. no. 23), stone blocks from Tafas. Gerasa, Souf (see P.E. nos. 4, 6, 25, 30, 31, 38, 41, 88), Hêt (E.P.A. no. 42), Sûr and Suweida (R.Y. nos. 51, 52) and an amphora from Samaria (E.S. no. 1). All these instances are dated between the first and mid-third century AD. In general, the symbol L appears often in Greek non-literary papyri (F.G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* [London 1899], p. 154) and on coins of ancient Ptolemaic possessions, but it is rare in inscriptions (Ed. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints in Ace-Ptolemais and Damascus* [Numismatic Notes and Monographs 84, New York 1939], pp. 38-39; H. Seyrig, “Antiquités syriennes 73. Temples, cultes et souvenirs historiques de la Decapole”, *Syria* 36 [1959], p. 73 and note 2).



The era designation appears on inscriptions: a) collected in areas outside the specific urban centre but within its territory or beyond the territory of the city where the era was valid. The use of an era in a site outside the city territory, where this era was employed, was due either to the influence exercised by the city which devised the era or to the site's former dependence on this urban centre b) found across provincia Arabia and c) uncovered in the area of a newly refounded city.

**Imposition of the eras:** The ancient testimony does not answer sufficiently and satisfactorily the question about the rulers, magistrates or experts who devised and imposed the eras. All the extant information concerns time computation ordered by monarchs. Michael the Syrian mentions that it was the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, Seleucus I Nicator, who conceived and brought into effect the synonymous era.<sup>16</sup> Justinian's *Novel* 47 (AD 537) expressly required that dating by the regnal year of the emperor was to be added before the consulate and the indiction number. On the other hand, the Alexandrine astronomers, despite Diocletian's introduction into Egypt of the reckoning by consulships, invented a new era and for convenience linked it with Diocletian's name without seeking the emperor's consent.<sup>17</sup>

Schwartz<sup>18</sup> has argued that the city authorities introduced in retrospect their freedom eras commemorating the autonomy bestowed upon the cities by Pompey. This is a logical contention since some time elapsed between the moment of liberation and that of the restoration. The complete absence of inscriptions dated in the first decades of the cities' independent life must also be pointed out.

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16. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2nd ed. (Brussels 1963), vol. 1, p. 116.

17. Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 72.

18. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 341.

## Chapter 2

### INDICTION

Years were also reckoned by indictions. Indiction (“ἰνδικτος”, “ἰνδικτιών”, “ἐπινέμησις”) is a term applied to a period of fifteen years and also to each single year within this period. Only the years within the indictional cycle are numbered, whereas the cycles themselves are not designated.<sup>1</sup> Initially indiction (= declaration) was associated with the announcement of the obligatory delivery of cereals to the state for use by the population of Rome and the Roman army.<sup>2</sup> Diocletian regulated this type of taxation on the basis of a five-year period (AD 297) which was extended to fifteen years in AD 312 by Constantine the Great according to *Chronicon Paschale*<sup>3</sup> (“ἰνδικτιώνων Κωνσταντινιανῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχή”). O. Seeck was the first to question this information and to claim that the first 15-year indiction period started in Egypt in AD 297.<sup>4</sup> Recently, L. Depuydt<sup>5</sup> considered the statement in the *Chronicle* as referring only to the “indications” coinciding with Constantine’s reign as distinct from preceding “indications” based on a Coptic manuscript (*Vat. copt.* 69) which shifts the start of the 15-year indiction cycles a full cycle earlier, i.e. to AD 297. The colophon of this text written in cursive Greek and dated to 10 Abib of year 649 according to the era of the Martyrs (4 July AD 933) and to the 43rd cycle (κύκλ μγ’) provides positive evidence in favour of the introduction of the 15-year period from AD 297 onwards. Depuydt, besides stressing the unique designation of the indictional cycle instead of the specific indiction year, argued for the possibility that the beginning of the first cycle was placed in retrospect to AD 297.

Originally the indiction years were not counted. The first indication of this is documented in AD 307.<sup>6</sup> The earliest attestation to the use of indictions to count years comes from Egypt with the decree of Constance of AD 356/7 (*Cod. Theod.* XII. 12. 2).<sup>7</sup> In the rest of the empire it was employed from AD 359 as designation of the fiscal year, but not as a dating instrument. A few years later (AD 380) indiction dates were used in documents in Italy.<sup>8</sup>

Variation in the beginning of the indiction year resulted in the existence of mainly three types of indiction: a) Egyptian, b) Roman or pontifical, and c) Byzantine or Constantinopolitan or Constantinian.<sup>9</sup>

1. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 192.

2. *RE* IX, 2 (1916), cols. 1327-28, s.v. Indictio (O. Seeck); Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 78; E. Thompson, *Ἐγχειρίδιον ἑλληνικῆς καὶ λατινικῆς παλαιογραφίας*, translated into Greek by S.P. Lambros (Athens 1903), pp. 430-31.

3. Dindorf, p. 522.

4. Seeck (supra note 2), col. 1328. Against it V. Gardthausen, *Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und im Byzantinischen Mittelalter* (Leipzig 1913), pp. 462-64 and J.D. Thomas, “Epigraphai and Indictions in the Reign of Diocletian”, *Studies Presented to Naphthali Lewis, BASP* 15 (1978), pp. 133-43.

5. L. Depuydt, “AD 297 as the Beginning of the First Indiction Cycle”, *BASP* 24 (1987), pp. 137-39.

6. *RE* IX, 2 (supra note 2), col. 1331.

7. *Ibid.*, col. 1332; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 192.

8. *RE* IX, 2 (supra note 2), col. 1332.

9. Archimandrite Hippolytos, “Ἱστορικὴ καὶ μαθηματικὴ χρονολογία”, *Nea Sion* 18 (1923), p. 15.

The Egyptian indiction was a movable one, but its start generally fell between May and July.<sup>10</sup> The Roman indiction was employed in Rome from the sixth to seventh and tenth to eleventh centuries AD, and in Germany from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries AD. It commenced on 25 December or 1 January.<sup>11</sup>

The Constantinopolitan indiction was the one employed in Palestine and Arabia. From at least AD 462 onwards it started on 1 September. Based on an inscription from the martyrium of St. Christopher in Chalcedon (AD 452), Evagrius' account of the horrible earthquake of Antioch, a funerary inscription from Panion/Thrace and liturgical texts, Grumel<sup>12</sup> argued that the Constantinopolitan indiction commenced between AD 312 and 462 on 23 September, i.e. on the "dies natalis Augusti".

Despite the statement in *Chronicon Paschale* that the law instituting the indiction was authorized by Constantine the Great, Grumel<sup>13</sup> credited Licinius – Constantine's co-regnant in the capital of Eastern Roman Empire, Bithynia – with the actual invention of the Constantinopolitan version of the indiction as starting on 23 September (the Bithynian New Year commenced on that very day). Justinian's concern for time reckoning – also involving computation by indiction – is reflected in *Novels* 47 and 128. In the former he specified that dating by indiction should follow that by regnal year and consulship.<sup>14</sup> In the latter he established the months July and August as the end of indiction year and September-October as its start.<sup>15</sup>

A medieval manuscript written before 1453 refers to a special ceremony which was held in Constantinople every 1 September on the occasion of the new indiction year. During the ceremony the Patriarch invoked God's blessing for the well-being of the churches, the kings, the court and the army, the souls of Christians and the Byzantine capital. A.E. Kopassis,<sup>16</sup> who reproduced in Greek the comments by E. Freshfield, postulated a sixth century AD date for this custom in view of the conservatism and the traditionalism of the Orthodox Church.

In Palestine, reckoning by indiction year is attested from the mid-fifth century AD<sup>17</sup> [Melilot, Gaza (P.E. nos. 106, 109, respectively)]. In the province of Arabia in-

10. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 193; R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Stud Amst 8, Zutphen 1978), p. 17.

11. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 204.

12. Ibid., pp. 193-202.

13. Ibid., pp. 198-99; Seeck (supra note 2), col. 1331, ascribed to Licinius the movable start of Egyptian indiction.

14. See chapter on regnal years, note 5.

15. R. Schoell and G. Kroll (eds.), *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. 3. *Novellae* (Dublin-Zurich 1972), *Novel* 128, ch. I, pp. 636-37: "Ὅσα πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑποτελῶν ὁρᾷ σπουδάζοντες διαπράττεσθαι καὶ τὸν παρόντα τίθεμεν νόμον, δι' οὗ θεσιζόμεν, κατὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον ἤτοι Αὐγουστον μῆνα μᾶς ἐκάστης ἐπινεμήσεως τὰς μερικὰς διατυπώσεις τῶν συντελειῶν τῆς μελλούσης ἐπινεμήσεως ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῶν ἐκάστης διοικήσεως ἐνδοξοτάτων ἡμῶν ἐπαρχῶν πραττομένων ὑπομνημάτων φανερούσθαι, σημαίνουσας τὸ ὅπως ἐν ἐκάστη ἐπαρχίᾳ, ἤτοι πόλει ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου ἰούγου ἢ ἰουλίῳ ἢ κεντουριῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ οἰωδῆποτε ὀνόματι τοῦτο μὲν ἐν εἶδει τοῦτο δὲ ἐν χρυσίῳ δημοσίων ἐνεκεν ἐπικείται, φανερούσας δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν τὴν ἀποτίμησιν κατὰ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐκάστῳ τόπῳ κρατοῦσαν συνήθειαν, καὶ τί ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἄρκαν εἰσφέρεισθαι ἢ ἐν ἐκάστη ἐπαρχίᾳ δίδοσθαι ἢ δαπανᾶσθαι προσήκει· οὕτω δὲ συντιθεμένας τὰς τοιαύτας διατυπώσεις τοῖς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἀρχουσιν εὐθέως πέμπεσθαι ἐν προοιμίῳς ἐκάστης ἐπινεμήσεως, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν, προτίθεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς καθεστῶσας πόλεσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς ἢ Ὀκτωβρίου".

16. In "Ἡ τελετὴ τῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος εἰς τὸ Πορφυροῦν Κιόνιον ἐπὶ Βυζαντινῶν", *Nea Sion* 5 (1907), pp. 353-60.

17. An inscription cut on a rock at Wadi Haggag, Eastern Sinai, dating the text to a third indiction, has been dated by A. Negev [*The Inscriptions of Wadi Haggag, Sinai* (*Qedem* 6, 1977), pp. 64-67] to AD 299/300

dictions are also recorded from the mid-fifth century AD [Gerasa (P.E. no. 69)] and in one case [El-Kureye (E.P.A. no. 151)] in AD 390.

The formula mentioning indiction is comprised of the genitive “ἰνδικτιῶνος”<sup>18</sup> and a Greek numeral. The word “ἰνδικτιῶνος” is usually abbreviated, the commonest form being ΙΝΔ, but this rendering is not strictly standardized. The indiction numerals ια'-ιε' are written in descending order, but ascending order of year numerals for certain city eras [e.g. Gaza (P.E. nos. 112, 131) and 'Evron<sup>19</sup>] might have encouraged the inversion of the indiction numeral too. The few ordinal numerals indicating indiction years usually precede the genitive “ἰνδ(κτιῶνος)”. The numeral – either cardinal or ordinal – is placed before “ἰνδικτιῶνος” in the cases where the indiction phrase is supplemented by the clause “χρόνων”. The word “χρόνων” is the first one in the formula and is usually abbreviated. Since this has been documented in full in Gerasa (P.E. nos. 70, 79), Busr el-Hariri (E.P.A. no. 251), Ras-Siyagha (E.P.A. no. 260), 'Amra (E.P.A. no. 294), Madaba (E.P.A. no. 322) and Rihab (E.P.A. no. 488), Germer-Durand's<sup>20</sup> assumption that the abbreviations XP, XPO should be analysed in the genitive “χρόνων” and not “χρόνοις” is absolutely right. In fact, the dative “χρόνοις” is legitimate whenever the term “χρ(όνοις)”, “χρό(νοις)” is introduced by the preposition “ἐν”. Gerasa has supplied an example of this type too: “ἐν χρόνοις ἡ' ἰνδ(κτιῶνος)” (P.E. no. 75). The expression “χρό(νων) / ἐν χρό(νοις) .... ἰνδ(κτιῶνος)” occurs several times in the epigraphy of the province of Arabia (from Trachonitis up to Moab) and already in the first extant instance of dating by indiction (El-Kureye, E.P.A. no. 151). On the contrary, Scythopolis which shared with other cities of Decapolis in provincia Arabia common political patterns and culture, is the only site in Palestine to yield three examples of the formula “ἐν χρ(όνοις) .... ἰνδ(κτιῶ- νος)” (P.E. nos. 16, 17, 20).

Until the sixth century AD the practice of dating by indiction was supplementary to time computation by eras, regnal years or consulships. In such cases, mention of indiction number helps in fixing a more secure date of the monument or document. From that time onward, however, indiction year combined with month were considered sufficient chronological data (Wadi El-Qilt).<sup>21</sup> Indictions were used not only until the extinction of the eras (seventh-eighth centuries AD), but also during medieval times and in some cases until the present.<sup>22</sup>

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on the basis of its introductory formula “Εἰς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν”. Negev associated the inscription with Diocletian's reorganization of the eastern frontiers. In view of the extant evidence regarding the employment of indictions as a means for time computation, the Wadi Haggag example is extremely early and so far unique.

18. The word “ἐπινέμησις” is not met in inscriptions but is encountered in the life of Saint Sabas in E. Schwartz's, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939), p. 177, 2: “τῶν δημοσίων ἐνάτης καὶ δεκάτης ἐπινέμησεως”. In the same *Vita*, p. 179, 11, the synonymous word “ἰνδικτιῶνος” is also employed.
19. V. Tzaferis, “The Greek Inscriptions from the Early Christian Church at 'Evron”, *M. Avi-Yonah Memorial Volume*, EI 19 (1987), p. 40\*, no. 3.
20. J. Germer-Durand, “Epigraphie de Palestine IV. L'abréviation XP et XPO dans l'épigraphie byzantine”, *EchO* 11 (1908), pp. 306-307.
21. A.M. Schneider, “Das Kloster der Theotokos zu Choziba im Wadi el-Kelt”, *RQ* 1931, pp. 317-29.
22. Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 79.

## Chapter 3

### CALENDARS

The era epochs departed from the year in which the specific commemorated event had occurred, but were fixed within that very year on the basis of the local calendar.

**Nature and basis of calendars:** Calendar is a system which determines the duration of the year and divides it into fixed periods (months, days). Three parameters are involved in devising a calendar: a) the tropical, seasonal year (a little shorter than  $365 \frac{1}{4}$  days), b) the synodic, lunar month (a little longer than  $29 \frac{1}{2}$  days), and c) the day (a cycle of day and night = 24 hours).<sup>1</sup>

Some people formed their calendars based on lunations, others on the movement of the sun.

**Lunar calendars:** The lunar calendars rely on the synodic month which is a natural and convenient time unit, since it is short. However, a cycle of twelve lunar months is equal to 354 days, i.e. there is a lag of eleven days annually. It is then obvious that long use of such a calendar should have as a consequence a discord between the months and the seasons and a confusion in agricultural activities, religious festivals and astronomical calculations. This shortcoming was improved by the intercalation of an extra lunar month at regular intervals. These adjusted lunar calendars which respect the duration of the lunar months and keep track of the seasonal cycle of tropical year are styled lunisolar.<sup>2</sup>

The Babylonian calendar is the oldest, most venerated and influential one of this group. The calendar of the Seleucids, which was used all over Syria, borrowed the structure of this calendar.

**Solar calendars:** The bases for the solar calendars are the day and the year. The month is a conventional unit in their formulation. Since these calendars comprise a round number of days (365), they are bound to be  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a day shorter than the seasonal year. This discrepancy, which becomes grave over a long period, is eliminated by the addition of an extra day every four years.<sup>3</sup>

The oldest solar calendar is the Egyptian, after which some of the solar calendars in the Near East were modelled (Gaza, Ascalon, province of Arabia) and on which that of Rome (Julian) as well as our modern calendar (Gregorian) are based.

**Evidence for the calendars:** Coins, inscriptions and literary citations provide evidence for the calendars used in Palestine and Arabia. These sources are further combined with information found in the *Hemerologia*.<sup>4</sup> The *Hemerologia* are compara-

1. Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 10-11; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 19.

2. Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 11-12; Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 22-26; A.E. Samuel, "Calendars and Time-Telling" in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, vol. I (New York 1988), pp. 389-90.

3. Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 12-13.

4. Kubitschek, *Kalenderbücher*, see tables and also pp. 41, 54-81, 95, 97, 99, 109-110; Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 171-78.

tive lists of the days of months arranged according to various city or provincial calendars and correlated with the Julian calendar. They have been discovered in medieval codices of Florence (*Mediceus laurentianus* XXVIII 26, XXVIII 12), Leiden (*Graecus* LXXVII) and the Vatican (*Graecus* no. 1291). The redactors of the manuscripts must have relied on compilations of the ninth century AD as the lists of emperors included in the codices imply. Internal evidence, however, shows that the original tables were formed in the second half of the third century AD.

Each table of an individual Julian month comprises 14-16 columns which are equal to the number of calendars. At the top of each column the city or province and the local month are named. This local month is equivalent to the Roman one indicated in the left column. The days of each local month are given in sequence in the respective columns. Horizontal lines drawn at every other day facilitate the correlation among the month days in the various calendars.

The three versions of the Hemerologia overlap each other to a high degree but the Hemerologia of Rome and Leiden share the most common points. That of Florence differs from the other two in the order of the city/province names, as well as in the smaller number of calendars it records.

Kubitschek, who studied and published the codices, grouped the calendars into four categories:

- a) Calendars having the beginning and duration of the months identical to those of the Julian calendar.
- b) Calendars beginning on 23 September (Augustus' birthday):
  1. those which respect the Julian month length
  2. those which deviate from the Julian model.
- c) Calendars without a 28-day month and without epagomenal days.
- d) Calendars with 30-day months and five epagomenal days.

Those calendars attested in Palestine and Arabia and reported by the Hemerologia fall into categories a, c and d.

**Distribution of calendars:** In Palestine and Arabia month names are given in numerous Greek inscriptions dated as early as the second century AD (era of Gerasa, era of provincia Arabia). But continual mention of months becomes more common from the fifth century AD onwards.

The month names and order comply either with the Macedonian or with the Julian calendaric fashions. The Macedonian months were named after religious festivals.<sup>5</sup> Their Julian counterparts were designated by names of deities (Ianuarius, Februarius, Martius, Aprilis, Maius, Iunius), names of the sovereigns involved in calendaric readjustments (Iulius, Augustus) or by the ordinal adjectives based on the month's original position within the Roman year (September, October, November, December).<sup>6</sup> Up to the sixth century AD the use of the Macedonian month nomenclature was predominant in the Greek inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia, where Greek was the "lingua franca". The Julian nomenclature, recorded very sporadically from the fourth century AD appears quite often from the sixth century AD onwards.

5. J.N. Kalleris, *Les anciens Macédoniens: étude linguistique et historique*, vol. II, pt. 1 (*Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes* 81, Athens 1976), pp. 557-72.

6. A. Kirsopp Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton 1967), p. 18 and note 24; H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (London 1981), pp. 51-52, 69, 84, 96, 116, 126, 158.

Apart from the identical Macedonian nomenclature, month sequence and count of days, the calendars mentioned by the inscriptions differ widely. They are adaptations of the Macedonian calendar after its improvement by the Babylonian and Julian one (Syro-Macedonian group of Julianized calendars) or after its assimilation by the Egyptian calendar (Egypto-Macedonian group).

All the sources which provide evidence for the calendars used in Palestine and Arabia date well after Julius Caesar's calendaric reform (46 BC), which substituted the existing Roman calendar with a new solar one of Egyptian origin and invention.

The impact of the Julian calendar on the calendars of northern and central Palestine was far-reaching. After its introduction there, probably in the time of Augustus,<sup>7</sup> the lunisolar Seleucid calendar became a solar calendar which respected the Macedonian nomenclature and beginning of the year (e.g. era of Gerasa, Scythopolis). On the other hand, the solar calendar of Egypt, which was the model for the Julian one of Rome, seems to have affected the calendar of the areas close to the Egyptian borders (Gaza, Ascalon), very probably before the coming of the Julian calendar in Palestine.<sup>8</sup>

The calendar used in the province of Arabia from the time of its formation (AD 106) was also based on the Egyptian prototype. This solar (Graeco-Arabic) calendar replaced the calendar of the Nabataean kingdom. The nature of this earlier calendar and the exact time of its abandonment are uncertain. It is known that it used Aramaic month names<sup>9</sup> and – judging by the common nomenclature and the vernal equinox start of its successor (Graeco-Arabic calendar) – it should have shared similarities with the Babylonian one. The transition from the Nabataean calendar<sup>10</sup> to the Graeco-Arabic one should have taken place before Arabia was brought under Roman control. Were that not the case, the model for the calendaric readjustment would have been the Julian and not the Egyptian calendar (comprising epagomenal days).

Whether dating by Julian months is also a hint for the adoption of the Julian year start too is unknown. However, the diversity of the local calendars and their persistence as well as the employment of the modified Julian calendar, called Byzantine (with Julian months and starting in 1 September) in place of the various local calendars after the seventh century AD, question seriously this idea.

The month dating formula was not at all standardized. The month name in the plain genitive or introduced by the word “μηνός” of the earliest inscriptions is found until the seventh century AD. Month names in the genitive preceded by the dative “μηνι” or “ἐν μηνι” are attested from the mid-fifth century AD, whereas the few month names which appear in the dative occur after the late fifth century AD. Capricious abbreviations of the introductory particles and omission of the final syllable(s) of the month name, as well as spelling and phonetic renderings prevent uniformity of any kind and hinder the imposition of any rule governing this formula. The month day usually follows the month name and is of numerical character (α’-λ’/λα’) with figures arranged mainly in descending order in all calendars. In sites

7. B. Niese, “Zur Chronologie des Josephus”, *Hermes* 28 (1893), p. 207; Samuel, *GRC*, p. 186.

8. Niese (supra note 7) and note 3.

9. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 353.

10. The two Nabataean months (Ab and Siwan) recorded on a tombstone from 'Avdat (E.P.A. no. 30, AD 241) and on an altar from Petra (E.P.A. no. 40, AD 256), both dated in the mid-third century AD, are the sole relics of the Nabataean calendar.

where the Macedonian tradition is strong, the numerals including two letters are often inverted (ascending order), but sometimes both sequences occur in the same site.

During this period up until the seventh century AD, the Jewish population employed its own (lunisolar) calendar; at that time the Muslim conquerors imposed a purely lunar one.

The various calendars and calendar components encountered in the region and period under consideration are discussed below.

## 1. Syro-Macedonian – Egypto-Macedonian Calendars

Macedonians had a lunisolar calendar of twelve months with 30 and 29 days, alternatively. An intercalary month was inserted every three years, but the mechanism ruling the intercalation remains unknown. The twelve months were named after religious festivals: Δῖος (October), Ἀπελλαῖος (November), Αὐδυναῖος/Αὐδυναῖος (December), Περίτιος (January), Δύστρος (February), Ξανδικός (March), Ἀρτεμῖσιος (April), Δαῖσιος (May), Πάναμος (June), Λῶος (July), Γορπιαῖος (August), Ὑπερβερεταῖος (September).<sup>11</sup>

The troops of Alexander the Great and of the Seleucids and Ptolemies were familiar with this type of calendar when they settled in Babylonia and Egypt. In the conquered lands, however, they encountered more advanced and effective calendars which were an outcome of minute astronomical observation and long experience.<sup>12</sup>

**A. Seleucid and Syro-Macedonian Calendars:** In Babylon, Seleucus I Nicator associated his dynastic era with a calendar based on the Babylonian one which had twelve months of 29 and 30 days. It was a lunisolar calendar starting with 1 Nisan and providing intercalation of seven lunar months within a cycle of 19 years. Since both the Macedonian and Babylonian calendars were lunisolar, their concordance was perfect. However, the Seleucids retained the Macedonian autumnal year start (1 Loos / 1 Dios),<sup>13</sup> as well as the Macedonian month names and order. The Babylonian calendar with these modifications, inspired by the Macedonian practice, became the official calendar of the Seleucid kingdom.

According to Schwartz,<sup>14</sup> before the arrival of the Julian and the Egyptian calendars the Seleucid one was the calendar of the province of Syria and the intercalation of the extra month was uniform all over its territory. In Schwartz's view the Roman provincial administration regulated the calendaric structure on the basis of the Julian prototype. However, the city magistrates fixed the month nomenclature and the beginning of the year.

The universal use of the Seleucid calendar could lend probability to Schwartz's assumption about the uniform intercalation. But this hypothesis contradicts his contention that upon the introduction of the Julian calendar the months of the lunisolar calendars were kept in their shifted position (taking as the normal departing point the autumnal equinox). Schwartz drew the latter conclusion from the calendars in-

11. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 168-69; Kalleris (supra note 5).

12. Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 139-40.

13. Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 71. For further details see Seleucid era, pp. 53, 55.

14. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 343 and note 2, p. 344.



fluenced by the Julian system (Antioch) or the Egyptian one (Gaza, Ascalon) present in the *Hemerologia*. Seen against the background of equivalent lunisolar predecessors, the Julianized or Egyptianized calendars of the *Hemerologia* point to different treatment and dissimilar local regulation of the Seleucid calendar previous to its alignment with the Julian or the Egyptian calendars. But neither the idea of local variations of the Seleucid calendar nor the existence of a uniform Seleucid calendar – both propounded by Schwartz – can be proved.

On the basis of the calendar of Antioch and the strong indications supplied by the calendar of Gerasa and Scythopolis, it can be argued that the Seleucid calendar of the cities of northern Palestine (later *Palaestina Prima* and *Secunda*) and the corresponding strip east of Jordan assimilated their lunisolar calendar into the Julian one. These Julianized calendars, which remained faithful to the Macedonian month names and order as well as to the habit of beginning the year in fall, are styled Syro-Macedonian. Although vital issues of these calendars are uncertain (the exact introductory month) or unknown (the length of the months), minor characteristics as the occasional inversion of the day numeral or the omission of the month day in the fifth and sixth century AD inscriptions (see era of Gerasa, era of Philadelphia) are more easily traceable. According to the epigraphical evidence from the sixth century AD onwards the Julian month names started replacing the Syro-Macedonian ones in many of these cities.

**B. Alexandrine and Egypto-Macedonian Calendars:** When the Ptolemies were installed in Egypt the native civil Egyptian calendar was a solar one. It comprised twelve months of 30 days each and five intercalary days (*epagomenae*) at the end of the year. The Egyptian months Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choiak, Tybi, Mecheir, Phamenoth, Pharmouthi, Pachon, Payni, Epeiph, Mesore and the five epagomenal days were grouped into three seasons: “inundation”, “sowing”, “harvest”. Since the Egyptian calendaric year was 1/4 day shorter than the tropical one and no additional intercalation took place to eliminate the mistake, the first day of the year, 1 Thoth, was shifted progressively by one day every four years. Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221 BC) wished to restore a true equation between the calendaric and the seasonal year by insertion of a sixth epagomenal every four years but this reform was not accepted until the time of Julius Caesar. Octavian Augustus settled the problem of incorrect and superfluous intercalations and let the first of Thoth coincide with 29 August (or 30 for the years following the sixth epagomenal day).

By 240 BC the Ptolemaic bureaucracy had adapted the lunisolar Macedonian calendar to an Egyptian lunar calendar. Used for religious purposes, it co-existed with the civil Egyptian calendar. The months of this lunar calendar had the same names as those of the solar one, but were in concordance with the phases of the moon. An intercalary month was added every other year. This calendar functioned within the frame of the Egyptian 25-year cycle.

In the fourth regnal year of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205-180 BC) the Macedonian calendar was completely assimilated into the civil Egyptian calendar; the Greek names were simply alternative designations for the Egyptian ones (the numerals denoting the month days were the same for both Egyptian and Macedonian nomenclature). 1 Dystros was aligned with 1 Thoth and the remaining equations were regulated respectively. In 119 BC (Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II), the correlation between the two month sets changed and Dios was made to correspond to Thoth. This system re-

mained in use throughout the Roman period. Thus, the Macedonian lunisolar calendar was virtually abolished in Egypt.<sup>15</sup>

The attempt to define whether a calendar bearing Macedonian names in a former Ptolemaic possession in Palestine is an offspring of the Alexandrine or the Seleucid calendar necessitates evidence regarding the construction of the calendars. Samuel<sup>16</sup> rightly observed that it would be difficult to maintain the cyclical pattern inherent in the old Egyptian calendar outside of Egypt. Fortunately, the *Hemerologia* of Florence, Leiden and Rome have preserved the sequence of days in various calendars and a correlation among them. Thus, according to the structure of these city calendars it is obvious that the Egyptian (Alexandrine) calendaric style was the model for the calendars of Gaza, Ascalon and Arabia, that is in the areas of Palaestina Prima, Negev (later Palaestina Tertia) and province of Arabia.<sup>17</sup>

Both Gaza and Ascalon adopted the Alexandrine calendar but they applied to it the Macedonian names in the known order. They also adhered to the Macedonian custom of beginning the year in fall instead of 29/30 August as in Egypt, with the result that the epagomenae were encountered two months before the end of the year.<sup>18</sup>

A more rational scheme was achieved by the Graeco-Arabic calendar. In it epagomenal days were placed at the end of the year which started on the spring equinox (1 Xanthikos = 22 March).<sup>19</sup> Its months bore Macedonian names from their first attestation down to the late seventh century AD, when they were more extensively supplanted by the Julian appellations encountered mainly from the sixth century AD. Thus, the Graeco-Arabic calendar was of composite character: Babylonian beginning of the year, Egyptian structure, Macedonian designations.

In the fifth and sixth centuries AD a few sites in the south-westernmost end of Palaestina Prima and in the Negev (Palaestina Tertia) used not only the Egyptian calendaric system but also – occasionally – Egyptian month names. These are to be seen on gravestones from Gaza,<sup>20</sup> El-'Arish<sup>21</sup> (which alternately passed from Palestinian to Egyptian possession and vice-versa), and 'Avdat (E.P.A. no. 282), in two invocatory texts from Auja Hafir (Nessana)<sup>22</sup> and Tell Pheiran (Sinai)<sup>23</sup> and in a building inscription from Muhezzeq (E.D. no. 5). Moreover, four papyri from Nessana<sup>24</sup> and one from El-'Arish,<sup>25</sup> dated to the sixth and seventh centuries AD, also employed Egyptian month appellations in contrast to the overwhelming majority of documents using Macedonian names. The exceptional use of the Egyptian month nomenclature is probably due to the proximity of these areas to Egypt or to

15. *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 12 (Athens n.d.), pp. 271-72, s.v. 'Ἡμερολόγιον (G.L. Arvanitakis); Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 166-67; Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 145-51; Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 38-40.

16. Samuel, *GRC*, p. 151.

17. Kubitschek, *Kalenderbücher*, p. 71.

18. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 172. See also chapters on the Era of Gaza and Era of Ascalon.

19. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 173.

20. Glucker, pp. 136-38, no. 23.

21. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 46, nos. 303-304.

22. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 147, no. 30j.

23. Y.E. Meimaris, "Two Unpublished Greek Inscriptions", *LA* 30 (1980), pp. 228-31, no. 2; *SEG* 30 (1980), p. 485, no. 1701. A new investigation of the slab proved that the month name is the Egyptian month of Θώθ.

24. Kraemer, *Nessana 3*, pp. 271-85, no. 90; p. 316, no. 119; p. 326, no. 178; p. 327, no. 179.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-44, no. 15.

the Egyptian origin of the persons mentioned in the relevant texts.<sup>26</sup> Except for the inscription from Tell Pheiran all the texts name the month day too.

The calendar of Tyre, attested in the three Hemerologia, has Macedonian month names, Roman months of 31 days and intercalary days of a particular type. It has been grouped by Grumel<sup>27</sup> with the calendars of Egyptian (Alexandrine) character, although it differs from them in the matter of epagomenae. In the Tyrian calendar these days were distributed within the five months preceding Loos. Ginzel discerned an analogy between the position of the epagomenae just before Loos in Ascalon and the fact that the Tyrian intercalary days were scattered in the months before Loos.<sup>28</sup> But despite the influence exercised by the Roman calendar on the Tyrian one, there was no provision for a month with 28 days.<sup>29</sup> The first day of the Tyrian year, at least after the Julian reform, was either 1 Hyperberetaios (19 October) or 1 Dios (18 November). Trying to establish the position of the sixth epagomenal day, Grumel<sup>30</sup> conjectured that it should have become the 31st day of Peritios, which would be closer than any other to the Roman “bis sextum Kalendas Martias”, or the 31st of Loos.

## 2. Julian Calendar

In the time of Julius Caesar's calendaric reform (46 BC) the Roman calendar had twelve months (four of 31 days: Martius, Maius, Quintilis, October; seven of 29 days: Ianuarius, Aprilis, Iunius, Sextilis, September, November, December, one of 28 days: Februarius). These 355 days made an extremely short civil year compared to the actual seasonal one. To compensate for the lag, a shorter month of 22-23 days was inserted every other year after the feast of Terminalia (23 February). The remaining 5 days of February were annexed at the end of this intercalary month. But this capricious treatment of intercalation failed to bring the civil calendar into agreement with solar movement.<sup>31</sup>

Caesar, after consulting Sosigenes of Alexandria, rejected the existing calendar and introduced a solar one of 365 days plus an extra day inserted after 24 February every four years. The 365 days were distributed among the twelve months (which kept the old names) as follows: Ianuarius (31), Februarius (29 or 30), Martius (31), Aprilis (30), Maius (31), Iunius (30), Quintilis (31), Sextilis (30), September (31), October (30), November (31), December (30). The month days were designated in the same odd way as in the pre-Julian period. The first day of the month (*Kalendae*), the fifth (or seventh of a 31-day month: *Nonae*) and the thirteenth (or fifteenth of a 31-day month: *Idus*) were the points of reference. All the other days were named by counting backwards from these fixed points. In this counting both the day to be named as well as the fixed day were included (e.g. 6 June = ante diem VIII Idus Iunias). Counting the days by a forward count was extremely rare and not standardized. Since 24 February was “ante diem sextum Kalendas Martias”, the intercalary

26. Kraemer, *Nessana* 3, pp. 36-37.

27. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 173-74.

28. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, pp. 29-30.

29. Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 342, 345; Kubitschek, *Kalenderbücher*, p. 41; idem, “Kalenderstudien”, *JÖAI* 8 (1905), p. 98.

30. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 173, 301 and note 5.

31. Arvanitakis (supra note 15), p. 273; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 175; Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 154-55 and 158-67; Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 43-47.

day was called “ante diem bissextum Kalendas Martias”. Hence, the “leap year” was called “annuus bissextus” in the Imperial age. At least from 46 BC the Roman year started with the Kalends of January.

In order to create a stable and rational departing point for the subsequent use of the new calendar, Caesar had to add three months, compensating for the shortage of 90 days caused by the abandonment of intercalation. This extremely long year of 455 days was called the year of confusion. In recognition of Caesar’s contribution to the calendar the summer month of Quintilis was renamed Iulius. In 8 BC, the following month Sextilis was renamed Augustus in honour of Octavian Augustus’ amendment of the Julian calendar (more intercalations than were necessary had occurred between 45 and 9 BC). However, Sextilis had only thirty days and the Romans, wishing to have the month dedicated to Augustus equal to that of Caesar, borrowed one day from February. Then, to avoid having three months of 31 days in a row, they transferred to October the 31st day of September and to December the 31st of November.<sup>32</sup>

Rome did not impose upon the populations of the eastern provinces its own calendar, but in due course the Julian formula influenced the local calendaric systems. Some cities in Syria and Palestine modified their existing calendars according to the Julian model by equating their months to the Julian ones while preserving the Macedonian names and year start in fall (e.g. Antioch, presumably Scythopolis, Gerasa). Other urban or provincial areas in proximity to Egypt – also having Macedonian month names and autumnal or vernal year start (Gaza, Ascalon, province of Arabia) – made use of a year equal in length to the Julian one, but distributed the days within it according to the Alexandrine fashion.

Julian nomenclature began to appear in month designations in Palestine and Arabia only in the sixth century AD. Two or three Roman month appellations charted in the fringes of both provinces earlier than this time (‘Evron, AD 443, E.Pt. no. 2, Imtân, AD 350, E.P.A. no. 109 and eventually Hît, AD 354/5, E.P.A. no. 116) are isolated examples. It is, however, uncertain and rather doubtful whether the adoption of the Julian calendaric nomenclature and, in some cases, of its structure led to acceptance of the Julian beginning of the year too. The Byzantine calendar (with Julian months, day count of simple numerical character and beginning on 1 September) which gradually supplanted the local calendars after the seventh century AD, throws serious doubts upon the operation of a pure Julian calendar in Palestine and Arabia.<sup>33</sup> The complicated Roman method of naming the days by counting back from the Kalendae, Nonae and Idus is not respected and the numerical designation of days (α’-λ’/λα’) displays a deviation from the Julian prototype and adherence to the Hellenistic tradition.

It can then be argued that the Julian months recorded in the Greek dated inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia are renamings of their Julianized Macedonian equivalents in the Syro-Macedonian calendars or Julian months of calendaric sets starting in compliance with the local Egypto-Macedonian calendars in fall or spring. The existence of such adjusted Julian calendars, readily alternating with the Syro-

32. Arvanitakis (supra note 15), p. 273; Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 175-76; Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 155-58; Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 47-51.

33. Samuel, *GRC*, p. 171 and 186-88; Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 49-51; Samuel, “Calendars and Time-Telling” (supra note 2), p. 394.

Macedonian or Egypto-Macedonian ones, is a presupposition for the agreement of the various data furnished by the Greek dated inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries AD. It should, however, be stressed that the specific Julian month days recorded in those inscriptions are identical to those of the pure Julian calendar as the correlations between the calendars (see below, p. 44) and the inscription from Hammat Gader (P.E. no. 10; see chapter on week, p. 48) demonstrate.

The quantity of the epigraphical material concerning Julian nomenclature is not abundant, but the dated inscriptions furnish the appropriate documentation to tabulate the turning points in the career of the Julian calendar. Useful indications are further gleaned from the inscriptions which can be relatively dated and which name months according to Julian fashion.

In Palaestina Secunda the examples come exclusively from the territory of Decapolis. The earliest instance is found in Scythopolis (P.E. no. 17), where the completion of a monastery is placed in the Syro-Macedonian month of Panemos, while its inauguration in the Julian month of September of the same year (AD 522). A sixth century AD mosaic from the Monastery of Lady Mary<sup>34</sup> and a chamber tomb<sup>35</sup> from the same area provide a representation of the months escorted by their Roman names and the appropriate days, respectively. These two examples as well as one more Roman month from a fragmentary inscription in a Scythopolis synagogue (end of fourth-beginning of fifth century AD according to R. and A. Ovadiah)<sup>36</sup> are a strong argument in favour of the popularity of this calendar in that specific urban centre. Further north in Hippos (P.E. no. 1) and its territory (Khisfin) (P.E. no. 3) two Roman months are mentioned in church mosaics of the late sixth and early seventh century AD, respectively. The inscriptions from a mosaic at Hippos<sup>37</sup> and on an epistylum at El-Ġuwesi<sup>38</sup> relatively dated to the fifth or sixth century AD also record Roman month and day. In the inscription commemorating the renovation of hot baths in Hammat Gader (P.E. no. 10) the date according to the city era (AD 662) includes a Roman month also.

In Palaestina Prima, with the exception of the cases of Beth Safafa (E.D. no. 1), Jericho (R.Y. no. 105) and Jerusalem (R.Y. no. 106), no Roman month name has been attested so far in inscriptions bearing year numerals. Fortunately, there are a few inscriptions from church mosaics or funerary stelae, roughly dated in the sixth-seventh centuries AD, from Jerusalem,<sup>39</sup> Kh. Khanot,<sup>40</sup> Jericho,<sup>41</sup> Bettir,<sup>42</sup> Awwās,<sup>43</sup> (near) Tell Shocho<sup>44</sup> (area of Gaza), Gaza<sup>45</sup> and 142 painted epitaphs from the ceme-

34. SEG 8 (1937), p. 12, no. 42; R. and A. Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements*, p. 27, no. 26.

35. SEG 8 (1937), p. 12, no. 41; R. and A. Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements*, p. 31, no. 27a.

36. R. and A. Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 33-34, no. 29.

37. E. Anati, *Alon V-VI* (1957), p. 32.

38. SEG 8 (1937), p. 9, no. 29.

39. P. Thomsen, "Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer nächsten Umgebung", *ZDPV* 44 (1921), p. 94, no. 130; p. 102, no. 155; pp. 223-24, no. 163A; SEG 8 (1937), pp. 28-29, no. 193; Y. Magen and H. Hizmi, "The Monastery of St. Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim", *Qadmoniot* 18, 3-4 [71-72] (1985), p. 73.

40. Thanks are extended to Mr. Eli Shenhav for his kind communication of the mosaic inscription which indicates dating by Roman month: μ(η)νι Ἀπριλίῳ.

41. A. Augustinović, *Gerico e dintorni* (Jerusalem 1951), pp. 80-83, fig. 26.

42. SEG 8 (1937), p. 34, no. 230.

43. Ibid., p. 22, no. 151.

44. 'Εν μ(η)νι Ἰουλιῳ/ῳ δ' (or λ')? (Slomo Qudovitz excavator, unpublished?).

45. SEG 8 (1937), p. 42, no. 277.

tery of the Theotokos Monastery in Choziba (Wadi el-Qilt/Jericho),<sup>46</sup> which speak for the employment of the Julian calendaric system in those areas. The month names in genitive or dative follow the introductory phrase “ἐν μηνί” or “μηνί”. Occasionally the day of the month is given in Greek numerals.

The bulk of the Wadi el-Qilt inscriptions contribute instructively to the discussion concerning the Roman calendar. These texts are the epitaphs of the monks who died there and comprise the names of the deceased, their provenance, month, month day and indiction. The more or less uniform style, the palaeography as well as the fact that the month name is rendered in the genitive urged Schneider to ascribe most of them to the sixth-seventh centuries AD.<sup>47</sup> The ratio between Roman months and Macedonian months is 142: 6. The month days are denoted in a majority, but not in all, of the texts as happens in the dated inscriptions of sixth-seventh centuries AD in both Decapolis and Arabia.

All twelve Roman month names are attested and in addition the epitaph of presbyter John<sup>48</sup> gives the Roman equivalent of the Macedonian month: “μη(ν) Λῳου ε', Σεπτεμβρί(ου) β'”. The Hemerologia indicate that such a correlation is valid between the Roman and the Egypto-Macedonian calendar of Ascalon. This is a very valuable testimony from the time that the Julian calendar was gaining ground at the expense of the Egypto-Macedonian one. The attestation of the certain use of the calendar of Ascalon does not necessarily imply that the six Macedonian months of the Wadi el-Qilt epitaphs were exclusively months of the Ascalonian calendar.

Correlation of the Roman calendar with the Egypto-Macedonian calendar of the province of Arabia is furnished by double month dates of three sixth century AD burial inscriptions from Beersheba. Two of them are also dated by the era of Eleutheropolis (AD 564 and 588; E.E. nos. 6B, 9) and one solely by indiction.<sup>49</sup> Their explicit statement: “τῇ ἡ·μη(ν)ος Μαΐου, Ἀρτεμ(ι)σίου ιη'", “μη(ν) Ἀπριλλίου κγ', κατὰ δὲ Ἀραβας Ἀρτεμ(ι)σίου γ'” and “ἐν μην(ν) Ἐανθικ(οῦ) ε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε', ἥτις ἐστὶν κς Μαρτίου” makes it apparent that both calendars are concordant but not assimilated. The typical concordance between the two calendars is possible due to the solar nature of both of them, but their true equation is hindered by the differential distribution of the days within the calendaric year. Three more tombstones from Beersheba<sup>50</sup> bear only Roman month names, one of them dated also by the Eleutheropolitan era (E.E. no. 12).

An inscription on a chalk fragment from Nessana<sup>51</sup> is tentatively considered to refer to a Roman month. The Roman calendar is also encountered in some papyri from Nessana. In the late sixth century AD Julian months and month days according to Roman fashion (Kalends, Ides) precede their Macedonian equivalents in two non-literary papyri<sup>52</sup> from this area. These two combined month dates are a further proof

46. A.M. Schneider, “Das Kloster der Theotokos zu Choziba im Wadi el Kelt”, *RQ* 1931, pp. 317-29, nos. 1-4, 6, 9-10, 12-13, 15, 19, 21, 23-29, 31, 35, 37-39, 41-43, 45, 47-52, 57, 59, 62, 68-69, 72-73, 77-80, 84, 86, 88, 91-92, 95-100, 103-109, 113, 119, 122-126, 128-130, 132-141, 143-144, 147-153, 155, 158, 160, 165-166, 168, 170, 171-173, 177-179, 181, 184-185, 188-203, 209-213.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 329-30. Although the argument of the genitive case is not strong enough by itself, this date seems very plausible in view of the overwhelming number of the Julian month names.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 318, no. 17; A. Alt, “Borelia”, *ZDPV* 68 (1949), pp. 90-92.

49. F. M. Abel, “Inscriptions grecques de Bersabée”, *RB* 12 (1903), p. 426, no. 2.

50. For the two which mention only month and indiction see A. Alt, “Die neuen Inschriften aus der Palaestina Tertia”, *ZDPV* 46 (1923), p. 61, nos. 12, 13.

51. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 178, no. 108.

52. Kraemer, *Nessana 3*, p. 89, no. 29 and p. 92, no. 30.

for the relation of the Julian calendar to the Graeco-Arabic one. In the seventh century AD Roman months were used in the Greek papyri<sup>53</sup> of that area without any reference to their Macedonian counterparts, but always in connection with the Hegira era. It is also noteworthy that with only one exception the month day is not designated.

After the isolated examples of the fourth century AD (E.P.A. nos. 109, 116), Roman months appear with certainty in the province of Arabia from AD 530 (Ras-Siyagha, E.P.A. no. 260) down to the eighth century AD. All the sites which yielded Roman months – Jaber (E.P.A. no. 262), Bostra (E.P.A. no. 273), Nawa (E.P.A. no. 329), Gerasa (P.E. nos. 80, 81, 87), Rihab (E.P.A. nos. 406, 440, 469, 488), Shakka (C.E. no. 7), Nahite (E.P.A. no. 476), Deir-Ayyûb (E.P.A. no. 493), El-Kufr (E.P.A. nos. 508, 522), Umm er-Rasas (E.P.A. nos. 520, 524) – are found in the northern half of the province. The southernmost and rather isolated spot where the Roman calendar is encountered is Madaba (E.P.A. no. 322). Five more inscriptions recording Roman month but no year numeral from Kh. Mekhayyat,<sup>54</sup> Masuh<sup>55</sup> and Shakka<sup>56</sup> comply with this pattern too. The regions of Moab and the Negev seem to have maintained the Egypto-Macedonian (Graeco-Arabic) calendar until the eighth century AD. Hence Avi-Yonah's conclusion that in S. Palestine and the Negev the month names remain Macedonian down to the end of the Byzantine period and later is still valid.<sup>57</sup>

### 3. Jewish Calendar

The calendar employed by the Jewish people during the time that the Syro/Egypto-Macedonian calendars were at work was lunisolar with 29 and 30 days alternately and an intercalary month ca. every three years. For the regulation of the intercalation of the extra month the Babylonian 19-year cyclical scheme was accepted.<sup>58</sup> The Babylonian month names known to the Jews from the time of their captivity were adopted by orthodox Judaism well after this event at the expense of the ordinal numerals. Various sources give equal credit to a fall or spring beginning for the Jewish year. The twelve months and their Macedonian counterparts according to Josephus are: Tishri (Hyperberetaios), Marcheswan (Dios), Kislev (Apellaios), Tebeth (Audynaios), Shebat (Peritios), Adar (Dystros), Nisan (Xanthikos), Iyyar (Artemisios), Siwan (Daisios), Tammuz (Panemos), Ab (Loos) and Elul (Gorpaios).<sup>59</sup>

From Hellenistic times the Macedonian nomenclature was available for official purposes. However, it was scarcely used by the Jews.<sup>60</sup>

The first day of the Jewish month was called “νομήνια” (νομήνια = the day of a new month) and had a specific religious and civil importance. Animal sacrifices,

53. Ibid., p. 180, no. 60, p. 182, no. 61, p. 184, no. 62, p. 186, no. 63, p. 189, no. 64, p. 194, no. 66, p. 206, no. 72, p. 207, no. 73.

54. Gatier, *Jordanie 2*, pp. 101-103, no. 97 and pp. 109-110, no. 106.

55. Ibid., p. 74, no. 57b.

56. Waddington, p. 506, no. 2160a; M. Dunand, “Nouvelles inscriptions du Djebel Druze et du Hauran”, *RB* 41 (1932), p. 406, no. 25.

57. M. Avi-Yonah, “Mosaic Pavements at Hammam, Beisan”, *QDAP* 5 (1936), p. 25, note 2.

58. Arvanitakis (supra note 15), pp. 276-77; Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 177-78; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1. *Social Institutions* (New York-Toronto 1965), pp. 185-86.

59. De Vaux (supra note 58); O. Edwards, “Herodian Chronology”, *PEQ* 114 (1982), p. 33.

60. A. Pelletier, “La nomenclature du calendrier juif à l'époque hellénistique”, *RB* 82 (1975), pp. 218-20.

accompanied by the blare of trumpets were held and trade transactions were forbidden. The “νομηνία” of the seventh month was the most celebrated and was indicated as “a memorial of the blowing of trumpets”. During it even the slaves were granted the day off. The Jewish “νομηνία” was the equivalent to Roman Kalendae.<sup>61</sup>

#### 4. Muslim Calendar

The Muslim calendar, devised by Islam and introduced into Palestine and Arabia with the Muslim conquest, is a purely lunar calendar. Its months have 30 and 29 days alternately and ca. every three years a supernumerary day is added to the last month. This calendar operates on the basis of a 30-year cycle. According to this pattern only 11 years are intercalary, the rest being common. The Muslim months are: Moharrem (30), Safar (29), Rebi'ul awal (Rebi I, 30), Rebi'ul akher (Rebi II, 29), Djumada el ûlâ (Djumada I, 30), Djumada el akhira (Djumada II, 29), Redjeb (30), Shabân (29), Ramadhan (30), Shawwal (29), Dju-l-kade (30) and Dju-l-hidje (29/30).<sup>62</sup>

No Greek inscriptions record Muslim months. The latter are to be found only in eight Greek non-literary papyri (entagia) from Nessana,<sup>63</sup> dated in the period of the Islamic occupation (AD 674-689).

The Muslim calendar was the last to be based on the cyclical (Babylonian, Seleucid) scheme in the Near East.<sup>64</sup>

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61. I. Phokylides, “Ἡ νομηνία παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑβραίοις”, *Nea Sion* 29 (1934), pp. 147-49.

62. Arvanitakis (supra note 15), p. 277; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 180.

63. Kraemer, *Nessana* 3, p. 180, no. 60, p. 182, no. 61, p. 184, no. 62, p. 186, no. 63, p. 189, no. 64, p. 192, no. 65, p. 194, no. 66, p. 196, no. 67.

64. Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 26.



## Chapter 4

### WEEK

The week as a time unit was associated rather late with the Graeco-Roman calendars.<sup>1</sup> Two types of week are of relevance for the period under consideration: a) the eight-day period used by the Romans and b) the seven-day period operating in the East. In due course the seven-day pattern replaced the Roman type.<sup>2</sup>

In the Roman week seven days were allotted for work and one for the market. These days were designated by the Latin letters A-H, with the first or the last known as the *nundinae*.<sup>3</sup> The origin of the Roman week is obscure but its institution goes back to the time of Romulus.<sup>4</sup> The abandonment of the eight-day week and the adoption of the Oriental seven-day week in the Western Roman Empire was probably facilitated by the spread of Christianity which became acquainted with the septenary time-unit in the Holy Land. The seven-day week is encountered sporadically in the Roman West in the first century AD, widely employed in the early third century AD and finally ousts the Roman *nundinae* from the time of Constantine the Great henceforth.<sup>5</sup> Each day of this week (ἑβδομάς, septimana) was named after one of the seven planets which ruled its first hour (dies Saturni, d. Solis, d. Lunae, d. Martis, d. Mercurii, d. Jovis, d. Veneris) in contrast to the Jewish habit of designating the days by ordinal numerals.<sup>6</sup>

The origin of the Eastern seven-day week although it has been sought in the Jewish tradition (citations in Old Testament), can reasonably be ascribed to the common cultural heritage of the Far East, where the number seven was considered sacred and symbolic (septenary units in Babylon, Persia, India, Jawa). Eventually the notion of this week was suggested by the moon phases, and became a cycle independent from month and year.<sup>7</sup> The Jews named – and still do – the days of the week (shabua) by using ordinal numerals.

Christians and Muslims who adopted the seven-day week from the Jews kept the numerical style of appellation with minor alterations. For Christians the day preceding that of “σάββατον” was styled “παρασκευή” (preparation) and the day following “σάββατον”, called “πρώτη”, was renamed into “Κυριακή” (day of the Lord), since it was the first day of creation and that of resurrection (second cent. AD).<sup>8</sup> Due to its

1. Samuel, *GRC*, p. 18.

2. W. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I. 7*, Munich 1928), pp. 30-31; *DarSag I* (1873), pp. 833-35, s.v. *calendarium* (Ch. Em. Ruelle); A.E. Samuel, “Calendars and Time-Telling” in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, vol. I (New York 1988), pp. 394-95.

3. Ginzel, *Handbuch II*, pp. 176-77; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 59.

4. Kubitschek (supra note 2), p. 38.

5. Ginzel, *Handbuch II*, p. 177; Kubitschek (supra note 2), p. 31.

6. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 165; Samuel, *GRC*, p. 18.

7. Ginzel, *Handbuch I*, p. 94; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1: *Social Institutions* (New York-Toronto 1961), pp. 187-88.

8. For the pre-eminence of Sunday and its marking the beginning and the end of the week see A. Sharf, “The Eighth Day of the Week” in *ΚΑΘΗΗΤΡΙΑ: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80's Birthday* (Camberley-Surrey 1988), pp. 33-50.

sanctity “Κυριακή” was pronounced repose day (*Cod. Theod.* VIII 8, 1 in AD 368-373). Thus, according to the Greek texts the seven week days are: “πρώτη σαββάτου” / “Κυριακή” (Sunday), “δευτέρα σαββάτου” (Monday), “τρίτη σαββάτου” (Tuesday), “τετάρτη/τετράς σαββάτου” (Wednesday), “πέμπτη σαββάτου” (Thursday), “παρασκευή” (Friday), “σάββατον” (Saturday). An alternative system to denote the week days was to number them by the Greek numerals α’-ζ’ (as in Hippolytos’ Easter Tablets).<sup>9</sup>

The first day of the Christian seven-day week in Rome was also dedicated to the Lord and named after him (“dies doménica”). Kubitschek’s opinion that the Egyptian practice of naming the first day of the month or its most important one as “Σεβαστή” (day of the emperor) might have served as a model for the Christians,<sup>10</sup> seems very reasonable.

The handful of inscriptions recording a week day in Palestine and Arabia is of funerary or burial character, dates to the sixth-seventh centuries AD and comes from ‘Avdat (AD 576, 581, E.P.A. nos. 352, 368), Beersheba (AD 588, E.E. no. 9), El-Kufr (AD 652, E.P.A. no. 513), Hammat Gader (AD 662, P.E. no. 10), and Jericho.<sup>11</sup> The later inscription from ‘Avdat styles the week “σάμβατον”, whereas that from El-Kufr “έβδ(ομάς)”. The days are denoted either through a Greek ordinal [‘Avdat (E.P.A. no. 368): τῇ τρίτῃ τοῦ σάμβατος, El-Kufr: τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς έβδ(ομάδος), Hammat Gader: ἡμέρᾳ δευτέρᾳ] or a cardinal [‘Avdat (E.P.A. no. 352): ἡ/[μέ](ρᾳ) β’, Beersheba: ἡμέρ(ᾳ) ζ’, Jericho: ἡμέρᾳ ε’] or through a combination of appellations [‘Avdat (E.P.A. no. 352): ἡ/μέ(ρᾳ) Κυ[ρι]ακ(ῇ)-ἡ/[μέ](ρᾳ) β’, ‘Avdat (E.P.A. no. 368): ἡ/μέρᾳ Κυριακῇ – τῇ τρίτῃ τοῦ σάμβα/τος].

The inscriptions from Beersheba and Hammat Gader, by recording the specific day of the week and Julian month day, offer valuable evidence concerning the nature of the Julian calendar employed in Palaestina Tertia and provincia Arabia. Using Grumel’s<sup>12</sup> table for perpetual calendar in the latter inscription it turns out that the calendar underlying the Roman name is the pure Julian one. In the case of Beersheba however, the dating formula of the epitaph places the death on Friday and not on Saturday as the text states, but the correlation among the Graeco-Arabic and Julian calendars compensates for the incongruity.

9. Kubitschek (*supra* note 2), p. 34.

10. Kubitschek (*supra* note 2), p. 33.

11. A. Augustinović, *Gerico e dintorni* (Jerusalem 1951), pp. 80-81: .....κυμη/θις μηνι Φε/βρουαρίῳ / κ’, ἡμέρᾳ ε’ / ι(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος) ι’.

12. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 316.

## Chapter 5

### DAY AND HOUR

The term “day” is used in time reckoning to mean: a) a period between sunrise and sunset (daylight, natural day, *dies naturalis*) and b) a period between one sunrise and the successive one (calendar day, *dies civilis*, *νοχθήμερον*).<sup>1</sup>

The month days in all calendars of Palestine and Arabia were indicated in continuous count throughout (*α-λ'/λα'*) (see chapter on calendars). No division of the month into three decads with the relevant day designations is hitherto documented in the inscriptions. The first day of the month in all calendars should have been called “νουμηνία”, although ample proof for this is available only for the Jewish one.<sup>2</sup> The week days were also denoted through numerals<sup>3</sup> or their equivalent ordinals except for the first (Κυριακή), the fifth (Παρασκευή) and the sixth (Σάββατον) (see chapter on week).

Macedonians,<sup>4</sup> Jews<sup>5</sup> and Muslims<sup>6</sup> commenced their day in the evening at sunset, whereas Chaldeans, Egyptians and Romans started theirs in the morning at sunrise.<sup>7</sup> Interestingly enough Romans considered midnight as the beginning of their day for sacral and juridical purposes.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, when various communities adopted the Julian calendaric system they had to begin their day in the morning.

The concept of dividing a calendar day into 24 hours seems to have been Egyptian, since the earliest relevant example comes from that area (ca. 2100 BC). A further elaborated system (also introduced by the Egyptians in ca. 1300 BC) of assigning 12 hours to day and 12 hours to night was adopted by the Babylonians and later by the Greeks and the Romans. The Greek word “ῥα” meaning “hour” is encountered in texts of the second half of the fourth century BC. But the length of the ancient hour relied on the latitude of the specific site and season.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the diurnal hours were longer in summer and shorter in winter, as opposed to the nocturnal ones which were shorter in summer and longer in winter (“ῥαί καιρικά”, *horae temporales*, *horae inaequales*). According to calculations, an ancient seasonal hour corresponded from 3/4 to 5/4 of the modern hour. Hours of equal length (*horae aequinoc-*

1. Ginzel, *Handbuch I*, p. 95; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 13.

2. W. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I. 7*, Munich 1928), p. 170.

3. For the common ancient practice to count the days instead of naming them, see V. Gardthausen, *Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und im Byzantinischen Mittelalter* (Leipzig 1913), p. 476.

4. Ginzel, *Handbuch III*, p. 6.

5. R. de Vaux in his book *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1: *Social Institutions* (New York - Toronto 1965), pp. 180-83 examined various biblical citations in order to trace the starting point of the Jewish day. On the grounds of the phrasing of the specific texts he assumed a change of reckoning – from morning to evening – between the end of monarchy and the age of Nehemias.

6. St. H. Stephan, “The Division of the Year in Palestine”, *JPOS* 2 (1922), pp. 166-67.

7. Samuel, *GRC*, p. 13.

8. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 163.

9. Ibid.; Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 14-16; A.E. Samuel “Calendars and Time-Telling” in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, vol. 1 (New York 1988), p. 395.

tiales) were employed by Egyptian (twenty-four equal parts) and Babylonian (twelve equal units) priests. The Egyptian practice was adopted by the Hellenistic and Roman astronomers and cosmographers, but it never replaced the seasonal hour of the civil calendar. Common devices to count the time within a day (hours) were sundials and water-clocks.

Human habits and religious practices provided appellations for the various parts of the natural and the calendar day. Pollux (1. 68-70) enumerates the Greek designations, while Censorinus (24) the Roman ones. Warfare, for example, suggested and imposed the division of day and night into watches (“φυλακαί”, “vigiliae”). Greeks and Romans following the Egyptians employed the system of four watches which were especially useful to name parts of the night.<sup>10</sup> Each night watch lasted ca. three hours, its duration depending on the length of the night. Midnight almost equalled the beginning of the third night watch.<sup>11</sup>

Common subdivisions of the seasonal hour are the half hour and the quarter hour, but chronologists and ecclesiastical authors record a wider range.<sup>12</sup>

According to the Gospels (especially *Mark* 15.25, 33-34, 42) and the *Acts of Apostles* in the time of Jesus Christ the inhabitants of Palestine indicated the time around the middle of the morning, noon, middle of afternoon and the period one hour before sunset as “ὥραν τρίτην” (hora tertia), “ὥραν ἕκτην” (hora sexta), “ὥραν ἑνάτην” (hora nona), “ἑσπέραν/ἑσπερινόν” (vespere), respectively.<sup>13</sup> In the fifth century AD the day designations were supplemented by two more names “ὥρα πρώτη” (hora prima) for the sunrise and “ἀπόδειπνον” (completorium) for after the sunset.<sup>14</sup> The appellations applied to the night periods are well illustrated in the citation *Mark* 13.35: “τὴν ἑσπέραν ἢ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἢ ὅταν φωνάξῃ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ ἢ τὸ πρῶτ’”.

There are only three instances recording the hour in the Greek inscriptions from Palestine (no relevant occurrences have been documented in the province of Arabia). They are found on three gravestones of the late sixth century AD from Palaestina Tertia (‘Avdat, E.P.A. nos. 352, 368 and Beersheba, E.E. no. 9). The hour is denoted through the word “ὥραν” and the numeral is ordinal or cardinal. The later inscription from ‘Avdat which refers to the specific night period as “ὥραν τρίτη τῆς νυκτός” is of special interest (according to *Lucan* 5.507 the third night hour equals the second night watch). This kind of designation shows that the night parts were named not only on the basis of watches, but also in a more detailed way similar to that for the day.<sup>15</sup> Literary texts offer parallels for such a practice.<sup>16</sup> A feature shared by the three epitaphs is the extremely long dating formula, comprised of not only the hour of the day but also week, indiction year, month day and month according to the Graeco-Arabic calendar (and correlation with the Gazacan or the Julian one), as well as the year according to the provincial era (‘Avdat) or the era of Eleutheropolis (Beersheba).

10. Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 14.

11. Ginzel, *Handbuch* II, p. 165.

12. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 164-65.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 164; Kubitschek (supra note 2), p. 187.

14. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 164.

15. Kubitschek (supra note 2), p. 188.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

## **PART II**

### **ERAS ATTESTED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS**



## Chapter 1

### THE SELEUCID ERA

The Seleucid era belongs to the group of dynastic eras.<sup>1</sup> It was named after Seleucus I Nicator, founder of the Seleucid dynasty in Babylon, after his victory against Demetrios Poliorketes at Gaza (summer of 312 BC). The Seleucid era along with the contemporary era of Lagids<sup>2</sup> is the product of the division of the empire and the political ambitions of the Hellenistic monarchs following the death of Alexander IV.

The starting point for reckoning the years of this era is the accession of Seleucus I to the throne of Babylon (312/1 BC Julian year). It coincides with the 7th year of Alexander IV (started on 2/3 April 311 BC),<sup>3</sup> the first year of the 117th Olympiad (July 312–July 311 BC)<sup>4</sup> and the consulship of Rullus and Rutilius in Rome (310 BC).<sup>5</sup> The era is based on the Babylonian calendar for which the year began on 1 Nisan (=2/3 April).<sup>6</sup> The Macedonians, however, held as beginning of the year the 1st Dios (=October).<sup>7</sup> This fact is responsible for two versions of the beginning of the era. The Macedonian reckoning (autumn 312 BC) was used in official correspondence and bureaucracy. It is suggested that it was imposed upon the court at least from the time that Seleucus received the title of “βασιλεύς”.<sup>8</sup> In spite of the monarch’s predilection, the Babylonian epoch (spring 311 BC) was understood by the indigenous population as more appropriate for local needs and astronomy.<sup>9</sup> The chronographer Ulug Beg (ca. AD 1430) fixed the beginning of the Seleucid era on the 1st of October 312 BC based on astronomical calculations between the Seleucid era and the era of Hegira (15 July AD 622), as well as the Persian era of Jezdegerd (16 June AD 632).<sup>10</sup>

It seems that the era was conceived from the very beginning as a conscious attempt to inaugurate a new chronological system set by the new ruler. A confirmation of this assumption may be sought in the earliest document dated in the 8th year of the era (5 Tammuz 8 S.E. = July 304 BC).<sup>11</sup> The writings of later authors such as Michael the Syrian<sup>12</sup> and Malalas<sup>13</sup> remember the royal claim to this achievement

1. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 209; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 71.

2. *RE* I, 1 (1893), col. 608, s.v. Aera (W. Kubitschek); F.M. Abel, “L’ère des Séleucides”, *RB* 47 (1938), p. 200; G.L. Arvanitakis, *Χρονολογία τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* (Athens 1940), p. 33.

3. An astronomical tablet of 222 BC records this equation. See A.T. Olmstead, “Cuneiform Texts and Hellenistic Chronology”, *CPh* 32 (1937), p. 4.

4. Dindorf, p. 323; Abel (supra note 2), p. 202; Samuel, *GRC*, p. 245 and note 5.

5. Dindorf, p. 323; Arvanitakis (supra note 2).

6. Samuel, *GRC*, p. 245.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ginzler, *Handbuch* I, p. 136; W. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* I. 7, Munich 1928), p. 73.

10. Abel (supra note 2), pp. 209–10; for further discussion see Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 245–46, note 8.

11. Abel (supra note 2), pp. 206 and 208; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 209.

12. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2nd ed., vol. I (Brussels 1963), p. 116:

“Le comput des Grecs commence à Séleucus Nicator. Le livre des Macchabées expose, à partir de celui-ci, l’empire des Grecs. Les Edesséniens comptent aussi à partir de cette époque; c’est le comput que nous observons, qui est en usage dans nos églises et nos livres et qui est appelé (ère) d’Alexandre. En

with some exaggeration. The Seleucid era was extensively and constantly used as the official time reckoning system in the East (Phoenicia, Palestine, Syria, Arabia). The official records, coins, inscriptions, Fathers' accounts and Council Acts witness its popularity.<sup>14</sup> Other Oriental rulers imitated it and in some regions of the Near East it is still in use. This particular system serves as an ecclesiastical era for the Nestorians and the Jacobites.

The Seleucid era is attested under other names as well:<sup>15</sup>

- *Era of the Greeks or era of Alexander* (Tarih er-Roum, Tarih el-Iskandar).<sup>16</sup>
- *Era of the “double-horned man”* (Tarih Dhou'l-Qarnain).<sup>17</sup>
- *Era of the contracts* (the Jewish denomination for the Seleucid era). It seems that there was a confusion regarding the event which inaugurated the era (death of Alexander the Great or his visit to Jerusalem).<sup>18</sup> The rabbinic texts place its beginning in the year 3450 of the Jewish mundial era = 1 Tishri 312 BC.
- *Years according to the Chaldeans*<sup>19</sup> (κατὰ Χαλδαίους: Ptolemy, *Almagest* 9.7, 11.7).
- *Years of the Syro-Macedonians*<sup>20</sup> (τὰ ἔτη τῶν Συρομακεδόνων: PG XCII, 421).
- *Years of the Syrian kings*<sup>21</sup> (ἔτη τῶν Συρίας βασιλέων: Josephus, *Antiq.* 13.6.7-213) or *years of the kings after Seleucus*<sup>22</sup> (ἔτει ... μετὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλεῖς: Josephus, *Antiq.* 12.5.3-246).
- *Years of the reign of the Greeks*<sup>23</sup> (ἔτει ... βασιλείας Ἑλλήνων: I Macc. 1.10).

**Calendar:** The calendar originally linked with the Seleucid era was lunisolar,<sup>24</sup> for the Macedonian months were exactly equated to the Babylonian months.<sup>25</sup> The Babylonian calendar was based on a 19-year cycle with seven intercalated months<sup>26</sup> in the years 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17 and 19.

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effet, quand ce Séleucus commença à régner sur la Syrie, la Babylonie et toute la contrée d'Orient, il fit brûler tous les livres des comptes anciens, dans toutes les langues de ce pays, et il fit une ère nouvelle à partir de la première année de son règne. De là vient le comput des années en Syrie, et il s'est propagé jusqu'à présent".

13. L. Dindorf, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (Bonn 1831), VIII, p. 257: "ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς μῆνας τῆς Συρίας κατὰ Μακεδόνας ὀνομάζεσθαι ...".
14. W.H. Waddington, "Ere des Séleucides", *CRAI* n.s. 1 (1865), pp. 39-40; J. Rouvier, "Ptolémaïs-Acé", *RB* 8 (1899), pp. 399-400; *DACL* 7, 1 (1926), col. 633, s.v. inscriptions grecques chrétiennes (L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde); Arvanitakis (supra note 2), pp. 32-33; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 210; Samuel, *GRC*, p. 246.
15. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "Nouvel essai d'interprétation de la première inscription phénicienne d'Oumm el-'Awāmīd" in *Etudes d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. 1 (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes* 44, Paris 1880), pp. 62-63.
16. Abel (supra note 2), p. 203 and notes 3 and 4; Here is meant Alexander the Great, who impressed the Syrian populations with his legendary achievements.
17. Abel (supra note 2), p. 203-204; Arvanitakis (supra note 2), p. 33; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 209. This is a designation given to Alexander the Great by the priests of Ammon-Ra oracle.
18. Abel (supra note 2), p. 204 and note 2; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 209.
19. Abel (supra note 2), p. 201; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 209.
20. Abel (supra note 2), p. 201; Arvanitakis (supra note 2), p. 33; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 209.
21. Abel (supra note 2), p. 201 and note 4; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 209.
22. Abel (supra note 2), p. 201; Arvanitakis (supra note 2), p. 33.
23. Abel (supra note 2), p. 201; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 209.
24. Abel (supra note 2), p. 210; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 210; Samuel, *GRC*, p. 140.
25. Samuel, *GRC*, p. 141.
26. Samuel, *GRC*, p. 140. A second Ululu was intercalated in the 17th year of each cycle, while in the remaining cases a second Addaru.



In the Babylonian fashion the year started with the spring month of Nisan, while in the Macedonian calendar the year began in fall between 1 Loos and 1 Dios.<sup>27</sup> In due course two changes in the correlation between the two calendars occurred: a) between 229 BC and the first century BC preceding Josephus (AD 38-100) and b) between AD 15/16 and AD 46/47.<sup>28</sup>

After the Julian reform (46 BC) the Seleucid era was associated with the adjusted calendars of the various cities. The few inscriptions dated by the Seleucid era from the provinces of Palestine and Arabia do not provide conclusive evidence on the specific calendars combined with this era. One could expect calendars starting in fall for Palestines I, II and the Graeco-Arabic calendar for Arabia and Palestine III.<sup>29</sup>

**Conversion rule:** The variety of the regional calendars must always be kept in mind in attempting to convert the Seleucid dates into Christian ones.

For dates between fall and 31 December we subtract 312. For dates between 1 January and fall we subtract 311 (Palestines I, II).

For dates between 22 March and 31 December we subtract 311. For dates between 1 January and 21 March we subtract 310 (provinces of Arabia and Palestine III).

**The inscriptions:** Phoenicia and Palestine seem to have adopted the Seleucid era after the definite conquest of Coele Syria by Antiochus III around 200 BC.<sup>30</sup>

The Greek epigraphical evidence from Palestine and Arabia related to the Seleucid era is very scanty<sup>31</sup> and not entirely convincing. Out of a total of eight inscriptions from Palaestina Prima (nos. 1, 3) and Arabia (nos. 2, 4-8) only those from Mdjêdil (no. 4) and 'Akraba (no. 5) are dated for certain by the Seleucid era. The remainder are classified under this system because their data (high numerals, style of text) are irreconcilable with any other era. The inscriptions belong to the third, fourth and sixth-seventh centuries AD.

27. Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 71.

28. Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 142-44.

#### 323 BC-AD 15/16

Nisanu	=	Artemisios	Tashritu	=	Dios
Aiaru	=	Daisios	Arahsamnu	=	Apellaaios
Simanu	=	Panemos	Kislimu	=	Audnaaios
Duzu	=	Loios	Tebetü	=	Peritios
Abu	=	Gorpiaios	Shabatu	=	Dystros
Ululu	=	Hyperberetaios	Addaru	=	Xandikos

#### AD 46/47-AD 176

Nisanu	=	Xandikos
Aiaru	=	Artemisios
Simanu	=	Daisios
Duzu	=	Panemos
Abu	=	Loios
Ululu	=	Gorpiaios
Tashritu	=	Hyperberetaios
Arahsamnu	=	Dios
Kislimu	=	Apellaaios
Tebetü	=	Audnaaios
Shabatu	=	Peritios
Addaru	=	Dystros

29. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 342; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, "Calendriers de la Syrie gréco-romaine d'après des inscriptions inédites", *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972* (*Vestigia* 17, Munich 1973), p. 565.

30. Abel (*supra* note 2), p. 212.

31. The obscure provenance ("le plateau du Hauran") of an inscribed funerary bust (J. Teixidor, *Syria* 67 [1990], p. 512, IV, 8, fig. 32) hinders the assignment of this text (Ὁββη Σαχα/μήλου, γυνή/ Βάσσου, ἔτ/ους ενν', Γο/ρπ(αίου) ιζ', fall AD 144) to this group, for it is quite probable that the stele stood in an area beyond the northern boundaries of the newly created province of Arabia.

The clue for the secure assignment of inscription nos. 4 and 5 to the Seleucid era is the explicit era designation “κατὰ Δαμασκοῦ ἔτους”, “ἡτοὺς Δαμασκοῦ”, preceding the year numeral. The intent to qualify the era with a name more appropriate for a city era than for the dynastic era of the Seleucids is easily explained. Dating by the year of Damascus would probably distinguish it from the familiar era of the province of Arabia used in the area and at the same time dissociate the era from the abolished rulers who had devised it. Besides the identical era designation both inscriptions share one more item: they both commemorate building activity financed by a certain Rufus Magnus (?). Astonishingly enough the year numerals, presenting an inconsistent order (ascending in the earlier, descending in the later one) and a time span of ca. 120 years in between, do not permit discussion about a donation by the same person. The suspicious numerical sequence of the later inscription (no. 5), in other words its uncertain reading, could be an explanation for this discrepancy.

Erection of buildings (nos. 2, 7) and mosaic embellishment of a church (no. 8) are referred to on all but one of the other inscriptions from provincia Arabia and in the later one from Palaestina Prima (no. 3). From the remaining inscriptions a dedication (no. 1) is carved on a statue pedestal and an invocation (no. 6) on a lintel.

Dating of the Dhiban text (no. 2) by the Seleucid era is not entirely unreserved. Firstly, in this rather early date the familiar Seleucid quirk of the numerical inversion is not respected. Secondly, of the crucial hundreds figure almost nothing is preserved. Tushingham<sup>32</sup> and Alt<sup>33</sup> argued in favour of the era of the province of Arabia since the site belonged to this province from AD 106. Especially Alt, by reading πνζ', ascribed the tower's construction to AD 262/3. Such a date is compatible with the wording and the style of the inscription but not with the specific governorship. Two dated inscriptions from Der'a (E.P.A. nos. 43, 45) prove that in these years governors of Arabia were Iunius Olympus and Statilius Ammianus,<sup>34</sup> who were styled “ἡγεμόνες” (praesides) and not “πρεσβευταὶ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστράτηγοι” (legati Augusti pro praetore), like Claudius Capitolinus.

The dating system of the Madaba inscription (no. 8) has also caused much discussion.<sup>35</sup> Since the first sign of the year numeral seems to be a ϯ, the resulting date (974) makes sense only if converted according to the Seleucid era. Gatier<sup>36</sup> considers this system as more plausible using the argument that an exceptional construction like the cathedral, built by the people of the city of Madaba, demands an official era. But Madaba widely used the era of provincia Arabia, and the fact that all the rest of the ecclesiastical constructions in the city are dated according to that era, proves that the practice of dating by Seleucid era, if not peculiar, is at least exceptional.

Regarding the Palestinian inscriptions, that from Kibbutz Eretz (no. 1) seems likely to be dated by the Seleucid era, but the one from Et-Tireh (no. 3) should very tentatively be included in the discussion until a better reading of the text is available. The scarcity or almost the absence of the Seleucid era in Palestine reflects the historical situation in the area. The urban centres of Palestine, liberated by Pompey, were declared autonomous and given the right to reckon time from the year of their liberation, i.e. by city eras.<sup>37</sup> Set against this background the Kibbutz Eretz era is unique.

32. A.D. Tushingham, “Excavations at Dibon in Moab, 1952-53”, *BASOR* 133 (1954), pp. 16-17.

33. A. Alt, “Zwei griechische Inschriften aus dem Ostjordanland”, *ZDPV* 70 (1954), pp. 82-85, no. 1.

34. Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 97-98.

35. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 130-31, no. 131.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

37. Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 340-41.

A satisfactory explanation for choosing the Seleucid era could be sought in the origin of the dedicant (Mercurius, son of Alexander).

The dating formula except in the earliest example and the inscription nos. 5 and 6 moves either to the end or the middle of the text. Until almost the end of the sixth century AD the year numeral is the unique dating element. The inscriptions of the late sixth and seventh centuries (nos. 7, 8) are dated by Roman months plus indiction years which, however, are hardly compatible with the era years. Except for the two Palestinian inscriptions and that from Mdjêdil, the Greek letters of the year numerals are ordered in descending sequence contrary to the Seleucid habit of inversion.

The uncertainty regarding the nature of the era of the inscriptions examined above and the incongruities noted suggest that the Seleucid era became almost extinct in the Greek inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia from at least the time these areas were brought under Roman rule (64/63 BC and AD 106, respectively).

1. *KIBBUTZ ERETZ* statue pedestal  
Bibl. *SEG* 19 (1963), p. 284, no. 923.

Ἔτους βκϛ´.  
Μερκούριος Ἀλεξάνδρου  
ἀνέθηκα,  
ιερώμενος.

**Date:** 522 S.E. = Fall AD 210 – fall AD 211.

2. *DHIBAN* slab  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 197-98, no. 179; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 92, no. 37.

Ἐκ κελεύσεως  
Κλ(αυδίου) Καπιτωλίν(ου),  
πρεσ(βευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντισ(τρατήγου),  
ὁ π[ύρ]λος ἐγέν(ετο), φνζ´.

**Date:** 557 S.E. (?) = 22 March AD 246 – 21 March AD 247.

*Comments:* For the date of this inscription see discussion in text above, p. 56.

3. *ET - TIREH* fragment of a lintel  
Bibl. J. Gildemeister, *ZDPV* 11 (1888), pp. 44-45.

[Τ]ὸ μνη̅μα ἐνθάδε ΟΝ τῷ πό(ν)φ  
[.] ὅπερ τῶν ιδίων ἀνενέωσεν  
[δ]οῦξ ἔργ(ου) ἐπιστ(άτου) Ἀκυλίνου, οφ´.

**Date:** 570 S.E. = Fall AD 258 – fall AD 259.

4. *MDJĒDIL* block  
Bibl. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* I (1888), pp. 8-10, no. 6; *PA* III, p. 341.

Προ|νοία ..|θέου, 'Ροῦφος Μάγνο|ς ἐκ τῶν|ν ιδί|ων|  
τὸν πύργον εὐτυχῶς ἐ|τ|έ|λ|ε|σ|εν|, κατὰ  
Δαμασκοῦ ἔτους θπχ´. 'Επ' ἀγαθοῖς  
χρ(όνοις), ὧ φιλοκτίστα ...

No line division is indicated.

**Date:** 689 S.E. = 22 March AD 378 – 21 March AD 379.

*Comments:* For the explicit era designation see discussion in text above, p. 56.

5. *'AKRABA* lintel (?)  
Bibl. Ewing, p. 52, no. 30; *PA* III, p. 349.

Ἦτους	Ἀμπέ-		Ῥοῦφος	Τὰ λιθ-
Δαμασ-	λις Φλα-		Μάγνου	άρια ἀ-
κοῦ ω-	β ίου οἴκο(δόμησε).	X	ΜΓ	ἐκτισεν.
ιβ´.				πὸ Εὐτ-
				ίμης.

**Date:** 812 S.E. = 22 March AD 501 – 21 March AD 502.

*Comments:* For the explicit era designation see discussion in text above, p. 56.

6. *SAHMEĒL-JAULĀN* lintel  
Bibl. Ewing, p. 44, no. 6; *PA* III, p. 357.

Ἦτ(ους)  
ⲭβ´. Ἰ(η)σ(οῦ) Χρ(ιστέ), Κύρι(ε) + ἡ(μῶν?) με παρίδες  
ἡμᾶς.

**Date:** 902 S.E. = Fall AD 590 – fall AD 591.

*Comments:* A Syro-Macedonian calendar starting in fall has been assumed for Sahm el-Jaulân, since it lay in the area of Decapolis.

7. *HAMA* lintel (?)  
Bibl. J.H. Mordtmann, *ZDPV* 7 (1884), p. 124, no. 5.

+ Ὑπερ εὐχῆ(ς)  
Μαρᾶ (καὶ)  
Κοσ-  
μᾶ.  
+ Ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ´, μεν(ὸς) Νοεμβρίου κε´ ἐτέθι ὁ [ναός], +  
ἔτους  
ζϞ´.

**Date:** 25 November 907 S.E., 14th ind.= 25 November AD 595.

*Comments:* The dating information of the inscription agree with each other if one places the epoch of the Seleucid era in the fall of AD 312. This fact implies that the calendar used in the area could not have been the Graeco-Arabic one of the province of Arabia.

8. *MADABA* mosaic pavement

Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 128-31, no. 131; *SEG* 32 (1982), pp. 427-28, no. 1544.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὠσιω(τάτου) πατρὸς ἡμῶν, Θεοφάνους ἐπισκόπου,  
 ἐ[γέν]ητω τὸ πᾶν καλὸν ἔργον τοῦτο τῆς ψιφώ-  
 [σεως τοῦ ἐ]νδόξου κ(αὶ) σεπτοῦ ὕκου τῆς ἀγίας (καὶ) ἀχράντου Δε-  
 σποί-  
 [νης ....] Θεοτόκου, σπουδῇ (καὶ) προθυμίᾳ τοῦ φιλωχ(ρίστο)υ λαοῦ  
 ταύ(τη)ς  
 5 [τῆς πόλε]ως Μιδάβων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας (καὶ) ἀντιλήψεως καὶ ἀφέ-  
 [σεως) ἁμαρτι]ῶν καρποφωρησάντων (καὶ) καρποφω-  
 [ρούντων] τῷ ἀγίῳ τόπῳ τούτῳ. Ἀμὴν Κ(ύρι)ε. Ἐταιλιώ-  
 [θη χάρι]τι Θεοῦ, μηνὴ Φεβρουαρίῳ, ἔτους ς οδ', ἰνδ(ι)κ(τιῶνος) ε'.

**Date:** February 974 S.E., 5th ind. = February AD 662.

*Comments:* February of Seleucid year 974 falls in the 5th indiction if one subtracts 312 from the year numeral. But this quantity is neither consonant with an era epoch departing in fall 312 BC nor with one starting on 22 March 311 BC. Further discussion of these issues is highly speculative since a conjectured era with two original epochs is linked with a Roman month. For the discussion regarding the dating system of this inscription see text above, p. 56.

## Chapter 2

### ERA OF TYRE

This is a local era used in Tyre and its district. It is the fourth and latest era attested in this Phoenician centre.<sup>1</sup> The era of Alexander (333/2 BC),<sup>2</sup> another local era (275/4 BC)<sup>3</sup> and the era of the Seleucids<sup>4</sup> (used after ca. 200 BC) were used to date documents and coins before 19 October (or 18 November) of 126 BC, when this second local era began. Both local eras are considered as freedom eras.<sup>5</sup> Incidentally, the first one, if it surely commemorated the end of the local dynasty, is the earliest example of this category.<sup>6</sup> The second era, celebrating Tyre's autonomy from the Seleucids, was commemorated through a new coinage.<sup>7</sup> This era was in use until the early seventh century AD, as a Christian epitaph from the necropolis of Tyre attests.<sup>8</sup>

**Calendar:** The calendar employed in Tyre, when this particular city era was introduced, is unknown. Evidence for its structure after the introduction of the Julian calendar in Syria (time of Augustus) is available through the *Hemerologia* of Florence, Rome and Leiden.<sup>9</sup>

The five Tyrian months with 31 days (Dystros, Xanthikos, Artemisios, Daisios, Panemos) show a Roman influence.<sup>10</sup> However, their concentration in the second part of the year (unlike their even distribution within the Roman year) and the lack of a 28-day month negates a profound impact by the Julian calendar. Instead, the scheme of the five successive months with 31 days before Loos (20/8-18/9) implies that these specific months were units of 30 days augmented by one epagomenal day<sup>11</sup> which did not have an allotted place (between 24-28 [29] August in the Alexandrine calendars of Egypt, Gaza and Ascalon).<sup>12</sup>

The concealed Alexandrine character of the Tyrian calendar is further supported by its relation to the Roman calendar as clearly seen in the *Hemerologia*. According

1. *RE* I, 1 (1893), col. 609, s.v. Aera (W. Kubitschek); Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 46; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 217.

2. J. Rouvier, "L'ère d' Alexandre le Grand en Phénicie aux IV et III siècles avant J.C.", *REG* 12 (1899), mainly pp. 372-81.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 364, 370 and 380-81; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 45; Jones, *Cities*, p. 238.

4. Rouvier (*supra* note 2), pp. 367, 372.

5. Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 73.

6. *RE* VII, A, 2 (1948), col. 1895-96, s.v. Tyros (Eissfeldt).

7. *Ibid.*, col. 1897.

8. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions de la nécropole I: Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr 1963-1974*, *BMB* 29 (1977), pp. 106-108, no. 200 and pp. 134-35. The text reads as follows: [+]  
Ἀνεπή ὁ ἐν ἀ/γίοις ὁ ἀββᾶς/ Λεόντιος/ ὁ πρεσβύτερος,/ μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ/ ζ', ἡ(μέρα) δ', / ἰν-  
δ(ικταῖνος) ἡ', τοῦ ψλδ' ἔτους.

9. Kubitschek, *Kalenderbücher*, *passim*.

10. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 342.

11. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, pp. 29-30; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 173. The latter scholar has alternatively proposed the 31st of Peritios (p. 173) or the 31st of Loos (p. 301, note 5) as the most plausible days for accommodation of the sixth intercalary day.

12. As was the case in Egypt – end of civil year after Meshore, Gaza (between Loos and Gorpaios) or Ascalon (between Panemos and Loos).

to these lists some calendars (like that of Antioch) were assimilated into the Roman calendar (the Julianized Syro-Macedonian ones), whereas others (like those of Gaza, Ascalon, province of Arabia) were not equated to it (Alexandrine ones), due probably to their intercalary days. The simple correlation of the days of the Tyrian calendar and their incomplete equation to those of the Julian one classifies the calendar of Tyre in the second category. It proves, in other words, that it is an Alexandrine calendar with a Roman veneer. Consequently, whenever a text dated by the Tyrian era records a Roman month,<sup>13</sup> the latter can be no other than the specific month of the Julian calendar. Two very explicit synchronisms recorded in the Acts of the Councils at Chalcedon and Constantinople<sup>14</sup> further support this suggestion. It should be noted, however, that there is only one early seventh century AD epitaph from Tyre<sup>15</sup> which qualifies the month by its Roman name. All other inscriptions, when they are dated by month, mention the Macedonian name.

In compliance with the practice of the analogous calendars of Gaza and Ascalon and on the basis of the chronological data of two burial inscriptions from Tyre<sup>16</sup> and the later synchronism of the Councilary Acts of Constantinople,<sup>17</sup> the beginning of the Tyrian year fell certainly in fall and more specifically after Loos (16 September is the latest month day so far attested to belong to the late part of the civil year of Tyre).

W. Kubitschek<sup>18</sup> suggested 1 Dios as the Tyrian New Year's day supported by the mosaic representation of Macedonian months in the side aisles of Saint Christopher's Church at Kabr Hiram which is dated by a dedicatory inscription to mid-summer AD 576.<sup>19</sup> In that arrangement of the busts (interrupted by personifications of four winds and the seasons) Dios is the first month to be encountered. Schwartz<sup>20</sup> refused any significance of the Kabr Hiram mosaic in the discussion concerning the beginning of the Tyrian year. According to him, the calendaric prototype to which the Tyrian mosaic could eventually refer, would be no other than the Hellenistic one.

Hyperberetaios has also been proposed as the introductory month of the Tyrian year.<sup>21</sup> Consideration of Hyperberetaios as the first month is based on the very reasonable hypothesis that Josephus employs the Tyrian calendar in his dates without naming it.<sup>22</sup> Set against this background some of Josephus' dates place Hyperbere-

13. Rey-Coquais (supra note 8), is inclined to accept an approximate correspondence between the Julian months attested in Tyre and those of the Roman calendar.

14. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 30, note 1; Kubitschek, *Kalenderbücher*, p. 109: "Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεῖαν Φλαουίων Ζήνωνος καὶ Ποστούμανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, πρὸ πέντε καλανδῶν Μαρτίων, ἐν κολωνίᾳ Τύρῳ λαμπροτάτῃ μητροπόλει ὑπατικῇ, ἔτους τετάρτου ἑβδομηκοστοῦ πεντακοσιοστοῦ, μηνὸς Περιτίου δεκάτῃ, κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Φεβρουαρίου πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης (=25 February AD 449 which falls in the second indiction) ... ἐν μηνὶ κατὰ Τυρίους Λῶφ εἰκάδι ὀγδόῃ, ἥτοι Σεπτεμβρίου ἑξακαίδεκάτῃ, τοῦ τρίτου τεσσαρακοστοῦ ἑξακοσιοστοῦ, ἰνδικτιῶνος δωδεκάτης" (= 16 September AD 518).

15. See supra note 8.

16. Rey-Coquais (supra note 8), pp. 93-94, no. 166 which reads: Βασσιανὸς δακτυ/λιδ(άριος?), εὐξάμενος/ἐποίησεν τὰ (δύο)/ἰδίους ἀναλώμασιν, ἐν μηνὶ (vi) Δεσίου τοῦ ιαχ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'.

17. See supra note 14.

18. W. Kubitschek, "Kalenderstudien", *JÖAI* 8 (1905), pp. 98-104.

19. M. Avi-Yonah ("Mosaic Pavements at el-Hammām, Beisān", *QDAP* 5 (1935) [1936], p. 29) assigned the months mosaic to a period earlier than the dedicatory inscription, with the argument that its iconographic type is not befitting the sixth century, but he confessed that "no decision can be taken without examination of the pavement".

20. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 346.

21. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, "Calendriers de la Syrie gréco-romaine d'après des inscriptions inédites", *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972 (Vestigia* 17, Munich 1973), p. 565.

22. B. Niese, "Zur Chronologie des Josephus" *Hermes* 28 (1893), pp. 197-204 and especially pp. 202-203; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 346; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 30.

taios in the beginning of the year already in the first century AD.<sup>23</sup> With this in mind, if the Kabr Hiram mosaic were to be consulted, it would indicate a shift of the year's start from 1 Hyperberetaios to 1 Dios before AD 576.<sup>24</sup> In conclusion, 1 Hyperberetaios (19 October) or 1 Dios (18 November) are equally probable as New Year's day for Tyre until a more decisive piece of evidence appears.

**Conversion rule:** For dates between 19 October (or 18 November) and 31 December we subtract 126.

For dates between 1 January and 18 October (or 17 November) we subtract 125.

**The inscriptions:** The era of Phoenician Tyre is discussed in this study because of a small number of inscriptions (9) dated according to this system and found within the geographical limits of northern Palestine (Galilee).

The inscriptions range in date from the second to the sixth centuries AD. The passage of time experiences a constant expansion in the dating formula. In the second and the third centuries AD the unique dating element is the year numeral, normally on the top (or the bottom) of the text. In the second half of the third century AD the month and the day appear next to the year reference and sometime between the end of this century and the late fifth century AD (inscr. nos. 5, 6 and 7) the dating formula moves to the bottom of the inscription, enlarged by the addition of the indiction year. In the case of Suḥmātā (no. 9), the first line with the dating formula is not incorporated into the tabula ansata along with the rest of the text. This commemorative date was considered necessary immediately after the completion of the tabula ansata and the intricate decorative pattern (vine trellis) below it so it was inserted in the only available space, i.e. above the inscription. Palaeographically the two texts seem to be contemporary. All the dating numbers are reversed and rendered with the help of the Greek alphabet.

There is only one burial inscription in the group (no. 4). All the rest either accompany a dedication (inscr. nos. 1-3, 5) or, as time passes, commemorate new building activity or embellishment through mosaics in churches (inscr. nos. 6-9). It is noteworthy that the contemporary church officials are listed in the inscriptions along with the absolute date.

The use of the Tyrian era on Palestinian ground indicates that the boundaries of Tyre's territory had moved southwards well into Palestine. This agrees perfectly with the information provided by the *Ecclesiastical Notitia* and the *Talmud* which date this expansion already in the third century AD.<sup>25</sup> In this period the Tyrian boundary had reached Kedesh Naphtali, a city north of Mount Meron, as is deduced from the five inscriptions collected there and Josephus' "Κέδασαν τὴν Τυρίων", "Κυδυσσοῖς ... μεσόγειος δέ ἐστι Τυρίων κόμη καρτερὰ".<sup>26</sup> That Phoenician Tyre was the prosperous capital of a political/ecclesiastical unit extending up to Ḥorvat Karkara, Shavei Zion as well to Khirbet 'Alya and Suḥmātā in the fifth and sixth centuries, respectively, is suggested by the relevant inscriptions found there.<sup>27</sup>

23. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 30.

24. For an analogous conclusion see Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 30. For the opposite opinion see Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 174.

25. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, pp. 129-30 and note 9.

26. Josephus, *War* 2.18.1-459 and 4.2.3-105; idem, *Antiq.* 13.5.6-154.

27. M. Avi-Yonah, "The Byzantine Church at Suḥmātā", *QDAP* 3 (1933) [1934], p. 105; idem, *Holy Land*, p. 130; M.W. Prausnitz, M. Avi-Yonah and D. Barag, *Excavations at Shavei Zion* (Rome 1967), pp. 58-59, 62.



1. *KEDESH NAPHTALI* block  
Bibl. C.C. McCown, *AASOR* 2-3 (1921-22), pp. 113-15; R. Mousterde, *Syria* 6 (1925), p. 355, note 4; *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 1, no. 2; M. Fisher, A. Ovadiah and I. Roll, *Tel Aviv* 13 (1986), p. 61, no 2.

[Ἔτους] γμσ´. Θεο-  
 ὃ ἁγίου οὐρανίου σ-  
 υγγένια ἐποίησεν,  
 διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν Ἄν-  
 5 νίου Ναγδᾶ καὶ Λισ-  
 έμσεος Δάματος  
 εὐχὴν.

**Date:** 243 T.E. = 19 October (18 November) AD 117 – 18 October (17 November) AD 118.

2. *KEDESH NAPHTALI* statue pedestal  
Bibl. M. Fisher, A. Ovadiah and I. Roll, *Tel Aviv* 13 (1986), pp. 63-64, no. 4.

[.....]  
 EYC Ἀντικέρασ-  
 ρς, Κράτηρος, Ἄ-  
 ήλιας, Ἀγαθοκ[λή]-  
 5 ς, συμβίου καὶ Ἰο[.]-  
 [.]πτης θυγατρὸς]  
 [τ]ὸν ἀνδριάντα σὺν τῇ βάσει,  
 τῷ εἰτ´ ἔτει.

**Date:** 315 T.E. = 19 October (18 November) AD 189 – 18 October (17 November) AD 190.

3. *KEDESH NAPHTALI* altar  
Bibl. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 10 in *REG* 97 (1984), p. 511, no. 503; M. Fisher, A. Ovadiah and I. Roll, *Tel Aviv* 13 (1986), pp. 61-62, no. 3.

[Μά]ρ[κω] Αὐρηλί[ω Ἀντωνίνω]  
 δεκάδαρχος [...<sup>ca.8</sup>...]  
 ἀνέθηκεν Τύ[χης βωμόν],  
 ἔτους μτ´.

**Date:** 340 T.E. = 19 October (18 November) AD 214 – 18 October (17 November) AD 215.

4. *KEDESH NAPHTALI* stele  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 1, no. 3.

ἔτους  
γλτ', <μ> ηνός  
Πηνήμου  
γκ'. Ἐνθάδ[ε]  
5 κείται ΑΤ  
Α.ΛΕΟΣ (?) ΕΙΣ  
ΚΛΗΘΑΙΟΣΙΝ  
... ΔΕΑΘΙΑ  
ΟΥΣ

**Date:** 23 Panemos 393 T.E. = 11 August AD 268.

5. *KEDESH NAPHTALI* altar  
Bibl. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* V (1903), pp. 341-46; idem, *PEFQS* 1903, pp. 132-34; M. Fisher, A. Ovadiah and I. Roll, *Tel Aviv* 13 (1986), pp. 60-61, no. 1.

Θεῶ ἁ-  
γίῳ ..  
ΚΣΟ.Υ  
ΘΙΝ Σε-  
5 πτίμι-  
ος Ζήν-  
ω(ν) Ζωσί-  
μου ἐνέ-  
θηκ(εν),  
10 ω' ξ(τους),  
μη(νι) Ἀρτεμ- (altar base)  
ισίου ηι'.

**Date:** 18 Artemisios 410 T.E. = 5 June AD 285.

*Comments:* The year numeral is dubious and problematic. The group of letters "IYE" in l. 10 has been analysed by Clermont-Ganneau to be either L νε' or ω' ξ-(τους)". Since the year numeral in that area and period is bound to be inverted, the latter reading has been chosen.

6. *HORVAT KARKARA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 209-10; R. and A. Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements*, p. 71, no. 100.

[Ἐ]πὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτ[ά]του καὶ θεοφι(λεστάτου) ἀρχι-  
[ε]πι(σκόπου) ἡμῶν Λονγίνου καὶ τοῦ θεοσε-  
[β](εστάτου) χωροεπ(ισκόπου) Πολυχρονίου καὶ τῶν ε-  
[ύ]λ[α]β(εστάτων) περιοδε(υτῶν) Γαειανοῦ καὶ Δω-  
5 ροθέου καὶ Βάσσου ἐτελιώθη ἡ ψήφ(ωσις),  
ἐμ μη(νι) Δύστρου λ', τοῦ γγ' ἔτους.

**Date:** 30 Dystros 603 T.E. = 16 April AD 478.

7. *SHAVEI ZION* mosaic pavement

Bibl. M.W. Prausnitz, M. Avi-Yonah and D. Barag, *Excavations at Shavei Zion* (Rome 1967), pp. 58-63.

[Ἐπὶ τοῦ --- ]  
 ὡς(ιωτάτου) ἐπισκόπ(ου) ἡμῶν  
 Φωτίου --- ] καὶ  
 εὐλ(αβεστάτου) Κωσ[μᾶ --- τοῦ]  
 5 περιοδε[υτοῦ --- ἐτελιώθη]  
 τὸ ἔργον [τοῦτο τῆς ψ|η-  
 φώσεως, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ',  
 τοῦ αιχ' ἔτο-  
 υς. +

**Date:** 611 T.E., 9th ind. = 19 October (18 November) AD 485 – 31 August AD 486.

8. *KHIRBET 'ALYA* tablet fragment

Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 1, no. 1.

[ --- ] υἱ οἰκοδόμη[σεν --- ]  
 [Κ(ύρι)]ς ὁ Θ(εὸς) τῆς ἀγίας Μαρί-  
 [νας(?), ἐλέησον κ(αὶ) ἀνά-  
 [παυσον] Σουσομᾶν τὸν κόμ(ητα),  
 5 [μην(ὸς) Δίο]ν (?), τοῦ ἔτους εξχ', χρ(όνων)  
 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ'.

**Date:** Dios (?) 665 T.E., 3rd ind. = 18 November – 17 December AD 539.

9. *SUHMATATA* mosaic pavement

Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), pp. 7-8, no. 21.

+ Ἐφυλοκαλέθη ἐν μη(νὶ) Λώφου, τοῦ πχ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ' ]. + (above tabula ansata)

Ἐγίνετο σὺν Θ(εὸς) (sic) ἡ ψέφοσις ἐπὶ τοῦ ὠσιωτά-  
 του Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου (καὶ) Κυριακοῦ χωρεπ(ισκόπου)  
 (καὶ) ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμ(ῶν) Στεφάνου, ἀρχ(ιμανδρίτου) (καὶ) πρ(εσ)-  
 β(υτέρου)  
 (καὶ) οἰκονόμ(ου), (καὶ) ἐπὶ τῶν λαμπροτ(άτων) Μαρίνου κόμ(ητος)  
 (καὶ) Δίοφ β(ουλευτοῦ). [+]

**Date:** Loos 680 T.E., [3]rd ind. = 20 – 31 August AD 555.

## Chapter 3

### ERA OF ASCALON

The first era of Ascalon, a significant city on the Philistine coast, was the Seleucid era.<sup>1</sup> The second and more permanent era was established in 104 BC, when the city declared its autonomy from the Seleucids and the Jews.<sup>2</sup> The epoch of this era, fall of 104 BC, is fixed with the help of correlations furnished by literary testimonia:<sup>3</sup> a) the explicit statement of *Chronicon Paschale* that from the first year after the 169th Olympiad “Ἀσκαλωνῖται τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χρόνους ἐντεῦθεν ἀριθμοῦσιν”,<sup>4</sup> b) Eusebius’ equation of Probus’ second ruling year with the Ascalonian year 380 (AD 267) and c) a double date on a contract arranging the sale of a slave signed on the 4th Ides of October (12 October) or 14 Gorpaios of year 462 of the colony of Ascalon.<sup>5</sup> Coins bearing dates according to the era inaugurated after the city’s independence are attested from the first century AD until Roman imperial times.<sup>6</sup> This era, following the practice of the Pompeian eras, was in use until the beginning of the seventh century AD, if the handful of Greek dated inscriptions collected within the city’s territory are to be dated by it. No indiction years accompany the era year numerals.

Groups of Greek letters on coins of Ascalon are interpreted as dates reckoned on the basis of other eras. A very tentative era (84 BC) was suggested by Svoronos<sup>7</sup> on the grounds of silver tetradrachms portraying later Ptolemies. The existence of a Gabinian era<sup>8</sup> from 57 BC is also ambiguous. The latter is assumed from coins of Augustus’ reign. The double numerals 55 (or 56) and 102 are taken as dates according to the city’s Gabinian era and the city’s freedom era. The contemporary use, however, of two freedom eras is strange, if not improbable, and so far unparalleled. Another era associated with Hadrian’s visit (23 June – 30 October AD 130) in the area seems more reasonable. As is the case with some Gazaeen coins, on two Ascalonian examples the era date is supplemented by the equivalent year reckoned from Hadrian’s visit.<sup>9</sup> These eras deduced from coin numerals, if they ever existed, were shortlived and therefore cannot compete with the city’s freedom era.

**Calendar:** The Ascalonian calendar, which is a combination of the Egyptian and the Macedonian, is similar to that of Gaza.<sup>10</sup> Its structure is Egyptian, that is, month duration (12 months of 30 days) and number and position of the epagomenae (five days intercalated between 24 and 29 August). The month names and order as well as

1. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 48; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd ed. (London 1977), p. 804.

2. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (London 1914), pp. xlviii - xlix; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 48; Head (supra note 1), p. 804; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 106.

3. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 48.

4. Dindorf I, p. 346.

5. U. Wilcken, “Papyrusurkunde über einen Sklavenkauf aus dem Jahre 359 n. Ch.,” *Hermes* 19 (1884), pp. 417-31.

6. Hill (supra note 2), p. xlix, note 1 and pp. 112-40; Head (supra note 1), p. 804.

7. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 49; Head (supra note 1), p. 804.

8. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, pp. 48-49; Hill (supra note 2), p. xlix; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 216.

9. W. Kubitschek, “Zur Geschichte von Städten des römischen Kaiserreiches”, *SBWien* 177, 4 (1916), pp. 29-31.

10. Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 342-44 and 349; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 32; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 172.

assignment of the beginning of the year to fall are due to influence of the Macedonian calendar tradition.

The Hemerologia of Rome and Leiden<sup>11</sup> tabulate the months of the Ascalonian calendar in relation to those of the Alexandrine and Gazaeen among other calendars. From the correlations in this list – 1 Thoth (29 August) = 1 Gorpiaios (Gaza) = 1 Loos (Ascalon) – it is apparent that the Ascalonian calendar was shifted forward by one month compared to that of Gaza.<sup>12</sup> This is, of course, a correlation established after the Julian reform.

The New Year started certainly after Gorpiaios,<sup>13</sup> but there is not enough evidence to support either Dios or Hyperberetaios as the first month of the year. If Ascalon used Dios as Gaza did, its year should have begun on 27 November. On the other hand, if Ascalon maintained 28 October as the departure point of its year, then Hyperberetaios opened the month cycle.<sup>14</sup>

**Conversion rule:** For dates between 28 October (or 27 November) and 31 December we subtract 104.

For dates between 1 January and 27 October (or 26 November) we subtract 103.

**The inscriptions:** There are only five inscriptions found in the area of Ascalon which bear dates plausible enough to correspond to the era of 104 BC. A partly (?) preserved year numeral of a mutilated epitaph (no. 4) copied at el-Mughâr, NE of Azotus Hippenus, is also reckoned according to the Ascalonian era, since the deceased was Ascalonian and the area of Azotus probably used this era too.

Two more epitaphs from Gaza (nos. 7, 8) and another one found there though said to have come from Ascalon (no. 9), are discussed here, but apparently they cannot be classified under the city era of Ascalon. The year numerals of all nine inscriptions are in ascending order.

Of the inscriptions found in Ascalon nos. 1, 5 and 6 are chiselled on a marble column, a marble slab and on a marble lintel, respectively. The first is an honorific acclamation, the second is a relic found in a tomb and the third is a dedicatory text.

11. Kubitschek, *Kalenderbücher*, passim.

12. For the month lists based on the data of the Hemerologia see Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 344; Ginzel, *Handbuch III*, p. 32; Samuel, *GRC*, p. 177; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 48.

<i>Alexandria</i>	<i>Gaza</i>	<i>Ascalon</i>
29.8 = 1 Thoth	= 1 Gorpiaios	= 1 Loos
28.9 = 1 Phaophi	= 1 Hyperberetaios	= 1 Gorpiaios
28.10 = 1 Hathyr	= 1 Dios	= 1 Hyperberetaios
27.11 = 1 Choiaik	= 1 Apellaios	= 1 Dios
27.12 = 1 Tybi	= 1 Audynaïos	= 1 Apellaios
26.1 = 1 Mecheir	= 1 Peritios	= 1 Audynaïos
25.2 = 1 Phamenoth	= 1 Dystros	= 1 Peritios
27.3 = 1 Pharmuthi	= 1 Xanthikos	= 1 Dystros
26.4 = 1 Pachon	= 1 Artemisios	= 1 Xanthikos
26.5 = 1 Payni	= 1 Daisios	= 1 Artemisios
25.6 = 1 Epeiph	= 1 Panemos	= 1 Daisios
25.7 = 1 Mesore	= 1 Loos	= 1 Panemos
24.8 – 28.8: 5 Epagomenai		

13. Ginzel, *Handbuch III*, pp. 32–33.

14. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 172 and special chronological table II, pp. 300–301.

Nos. 2 and 3 are tessellated floors and refer to building and mosaic embellishments effected in churches.

Three funerary inscriptions (nos. 7-9) stored in houses of Gaza record the year according to an unspecified era, as well as month and indiction. Palaeography and wording, strikingly similar to those dated according to the era of Gaza, place these texts in the sixth or early seventh century AD. This fact combined with the difficulty to convert these numerals by the era of Gaza<sup>15</sup> and the possible Ascalonian provenance of one of them urged Clermont-Ganneau<sup>16</sup> to suggest the Ascalonian era as the reckoning basis. The afore-mentioned scholar had to assume omission of the hundreds figure, Φ, and to consider as epoch for the era 28 October 105 BC in order to reconcile the various dating information of the inscriptions. Both arguments, however, are quite unsuccessful.<sup>17</sup> On one hand, omission of the hundreds figure is otherwise unprecedented and rather meaningless.<sup>18</sup> Shifting of the era epoch, on the other hand, destroys all the tested correlations based on ancient evidence. It is far more convenient to accept another - unknown - era introduced in the early sixth century AD, so that the small year numerals added to it would make these three dated texts contemporary to their counterparts dated by the era of Gaza. A hypothetical era, departing from fall of AD 471, 486, 501, 516<sup>19</sup> or 531, is perfectly consistent with the evidence of the three inscriptions, but the historical instance for its introduction is unknown.

The uncertainty about the era used in the above mentioned inscriptions affects also the issue of the calendar in use. The Gazaeen origin of nos. 7 and 8, the inverted month numeral of no. 7 and the fact that the Gazaeen calendar is combined with other eras besides the Gazaeen one, support the acceptance of this calendar for both inscriptions. The month day of inscription no. 9 may also have been counted according to the Gazaeen calendar, but its possible Ascalonian provenance gives as first choice the calendar of Ascalon.

1. *ASCALON* shaft of column

Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 10 (1944), pp. 160-61, no. 1; J. and L. Robert, *BE* II in *REG* (1946-47), p. 363, no. 223; B. Bagatti, *LA* 24 (1974), p. 237.

Εἰς θεός].  
 Νίκ[α]  
 'Ιουλι[ανέ]!  
 'Ε[τους] ξ[ξυ].

**Date:** 466 (?) A.E. = 28 October (27 November) AD 362 – 25 June AD 363.

**Comments:** The year numeral 467 has been restored by Avi-Yonah on the basis of Julian's presence in Antioch (June AD 362–March AD 363). This fact had encouraged anti-Christian manifestations in Palestine and Arabia [*QDAP* 10 (1944), pp. 160-61]. But 467 A.E. corresponds to 28 October/27 November AD 363–27 Octo-

15. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 49.

16. Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, pp. 425-28.

17. Glucker, pp. 134-35.

18. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 386.

19. Ibid. Schwartz tentatively assigned this conjectural era to the port of Gaza, Maiumas, and tied its introduction to the civic status granted it by an emperor.

ber/26 November AD 364 and thus falls in the period immediately after Julian's death (26 June AD 363). Only 466 A.E. would better comply with the historical data. Unfortunately, the reading suggested by Avi-Yonah cannot be checked against the photograph included.

2. *ASCALON* mosaic pavement

Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *IEJ* 17 (1967), pp. 125-26; idem, *EI* 10 (1971), p. 243, no. 3; B. Bagatti, *LA* 24 (1974), pp. 250-51; *SEG* 37 (1987), p. 462, no. 1472c.

Τῷ οἴκῳ Σου [πρέπει]  
 ἁγίασμα, Κ[ύριε], εἰς μα-  
 κρότητα ἡμ[ερῶν].  
 Ἐν ἔτι ζ[ε]φ[έ]ρ, μ[η]ν[ι] --- | Α  
 5 ἐκτίσθη καὶ ἐψηφώθη.

**Date:** 597 A.E. = 28 October (27 November) AD 493 – 27 October (26 November) AD 494.

3. *ASCALON BARNEA* mosaic pavement

Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *EI* 10 (1971), pp. 242-43, no. 1; B. Bagatti, *LA* 24 (1974), pp. 249-51; R. and A. Ovadia, *Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 13-14; *SEG* 37 (1987), p. 462, no. 1472a.

Ἐτους βχ´, μ[η]ν[ος] Ἀρτεμ[ισίου] εἰ´,  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλ[εστάτου] κ[αὶ] ἀγιωτ[άτου]  
 ἐπισκ[όπου] Ἀναστασίου, τὸ  
 πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ διακονικ[οῦ]  
 5 ἐκ θεμελίων ἐκτίσθη  
 καὶ ἐψηφώθη.

**Date:** 15 Artemisios 602 A.E. = 9 June AD 499.

*Comments:* Tzaferis read at the end of the first line “Ἀρτε[μισίου] κ[αὶ] ἡ´ ἰ[νδικτιῶ-  
 νος]”. But the photograph he provided does not permit confirmation of his view. There is a photograph in Bagatti's account though, which clearly justifies our reading. Besides, the indiction year Tzaferis suggested does not comply with the other dating particles. *SEG* agrees with our reading.

4. *EL - MUGHÂR* (copied at) fragment of a slab

Bibl. Clermont - Ganneau, *ARP* II, p. 193.

-----  
 --- KX´, μ[η]ν[ος]  
 --- EOY κ´  
 --- ΔNHΘΣ  
 --- ΔNOY  
 -- [Ἀσκα]λουνήτης.

**Date:** 620 A.E. = 28 October (27 November) AD 516 – 27 October (26 November) AD 517.

*Comments:* Clermont-Ganneau restored after the word μηνὸς the month name [Υπερβερετ]έου. This restoration, however, is highly hypothetical, since there is no way to check which one of the months having the ending -αῖος (Υπερβερεταῖος, Ἀπελλαῖος, Αὐδυναῖος, Γορπιαῖος), is meant here.

5. *ER-RAML EL-QIBLY* slab fragment  
Bibl. B. Bagatti, *LA* 24 (1974), pp. 230-31.

— — μη(νι) Δεσίου ιη', ἔτους γψ'.

**Date:** 18 Daisios 703 A.E. = 12 July AD 600.

6. *ASCALON* two fragments of a stone lintel  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 39, no. 267; L. Roth-Gerson, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Synagogues in Eretz-Israel* (in Hebrew) [Jerusalem 1987], pp. 25-27.

- 1 Θ(εὸς) β(οήθει). Κυρὰ Δόμνα Ἰουλιανοῦ? καὶ κυρ(ὸς) Μαρι  
Νόννου εὐχαριστοῦντες] προσφέρωμεν. Κυρ(ὸς) — — ἐγ|γόνιν Ἑλικίου,  
2 τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ κ(αὶ) τῷ ἁγ(ί)ῳ [τόπῳ προσήνεγκ]α ὑπὲρ σωτερ(ίας).  
Κυρ(ὸς) Κόμ|μοδος προσήνεγκα ὑπὲρ σωτε(ρίας) [καὶ] ζοήν. Ἐτους  
θψ'.

**Date:** 709 A.E. = 28 October (27 November) AD 605 – 27 October (26 November) AD 606.

7. *GAZA* slab  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 133-35, no. 18.

- Ἐνθάδε κίται ἡ τοῦ  
Χ(ριστο)ῦ δούλη Μεγιστερία,  
Τιμοθέου θυγάτηρ,  
τὸν βίον ἀποθεμένη,  
5 ἐν μη(νι) Δαισίῳ δι', τοῦ γλ'  
ἔτ(ους), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) βι'.

**Date:** 14 Daisios of year 33, 12th ind. = 8 June AD 504 or 519 or 534 or 549 or 564 (?).

*Comments:* For the assumed era as well as the calendar see text above, p. 68.

8. *GAZA* slab  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 134-35, no. 19.

-----  
[ἀνεπ]άη δὲ ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μό-  
χθω(ν), ἐν μη(νι) Δίου ζ', τοῦ θλ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ'.

**Date:** 7 Dios of year 39, 3rd ind. = 3 November AD 509 or 524 or 539 or 554 or 569 (?).

*Comments:* See comments on inscr. no. 7.



9. *GAZA (possibly from Ascalon)* slab  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 35, no. 20.

Ἡ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ τῶν  
 ἁγίων δούλη, Ἀνα-  
 στασία Ἰωάννου  
 Μαρηαβδηνοῦ, ἐν-  
 5 θάδε κατετέθη,  
 μη(νὶ) Δίῳ θκ', τοῦ ηπ' ἔτ(ους),  
 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'.

**Date:** 29 Dios of year 88, 7th ind. = 25 December AD 558 or 573 or 588 or 603  
 or 618 (?).

*Comments:* See comments on inscr. no. 7.

## Chapter 4

## ERA OF AZOTOS

Philistine Azotos comprised both a coastal (Azotus Paralios) and an inland settlement (Azotus Mesogaeus or Hippenus).<sup>1</sup> Although Pompey<sup>2</sup> detached it from the Jewish realm and endowed it with the status of a city, it was Gabinius<sup>3</sup> who rebuilt and resettled it. Later (ca. 40 BC) Azotos was deprived of its city status and became a mere administrative capital of a toparchy.<sup>4</sup>

The question of whether the city ever issued coins is highly problematic.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, no correlations of era dates with emperors portrayed are available. Evidence for the employment of an era is provided by two dated inscriptions (nos. 1-2) collected in Hazor Ashdod.<sup>6</sup> Their style assigns them to the sixth century AD.

The inscriptions from Hazor Ashdod refer to the completion of church mosaics. Both bear inverted year numerals, but one of them records a Macedonian month and the corresponding indiction year. The dating particles of the latter either suggest an – otherwise unknown – era starting in 59 BC<sup>7</sup> or comply with the data of the Ascalonian era.<sup>8</sup>

It cannot be excluded that the eventual era of Azotos had been introduced shortly before Gabinius (57-55 BC) put into effect Pompey's resolutions. But the assumption of a city era still in use in the sixth century AD is further weakened by the fact that Azotos had lost its civic status many centuries before. Thus, the era of Ascalon gains in probability over the hypothetical era of Azotos. In this case, the calendar of Azotos would be that of Ascalon.

Another inconclusive hint for the chronological systems of Azotos is offered by a lead weight discovered during the excavations there. The inscription records the name of the market officer in charge and the year according to [the era of] "metropolis".<sup>9</sup> This title was granted only to Caesarea Maritima under Alexander Severus – perhaps during the emperor's visit in the city, ca. AD 231-233.<sup>10</sup> An era inaugurated on the occasion of this event is not hitherto attested. Hence this conjectural era cannot be assumed for Azotos too. Caesarean influence either through direct import of the weight or control of the civic institutions seems for the present very tenuous.

1. *RE* II, 2 (1896), s.v. Azotos, col. 2646 (Benzinger); Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, pp. 149-50; idem, *Gazetteer*, p. 34; Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 108-109.

2. Josephus, *Antiq.* 14.4.4-75; idem, *War* 1.7.7-156.

3. Josephus, *Antiq.* 14.5.3-88; idem, *War* 1.8.4-166.

4. Jones, *Cities*, pp. 269 and 273.

5. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine (Galilee, Samaria and Judaea)* (London 1914), p. lxiv; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 109; Jones, *Cities*, p. 273.

6. Y. H. Landau, "Unpublished Inscriptions from Israel: a Survey", *Acta of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress, Cambridge 1967* (Oxford 1971), p. 389 mentions another partially preserved date, engraved on a stone fragment decorated with a menorah from modern Ashdod, but he does not make any reference to the text.

7. According to Appian's list, in *Syrian Wars* 11.8.51, governor of Syria that year was Lentulus Marcellinus.

8. Landau (supra note 6), p. 387.

9. *SEG* 26 (1976/7), p. 387, no. 1666.

10. L. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 7)*, Leiden 1975), p. 47 and note 11.

1. *HAZOR ASHDOD (Azotus Hippenus)* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. R. and A. Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 68-69, no. 93.

1 + 'Επὶ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ ἀγιοτ(άτου) ἡμῶν  
ἐπισκ(όπου) Ἀντωνίου ἡ ψήφωσις ἐγένετο, εἰχ' ἔτου(ς) ...  
2 + 'Επὶ τ(οῦ) θεοσεβ(εστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ χωροεπισκ(όπου)  
Καλαποδίου καὶ Ἐρενίου τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) ...

**Date:** 615 Az.E.(?) = Fall AD 556 – fall AD 557 or  
615 A.E. = 28 October (27 November) AD 511 – 27 October (26 No-  
vember) AD 512.

2. *HAZOR ASHDOD (Azotus Hippenus)* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. R. and A. Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 67-68, no. 93.

+ Χ(ριστο)ῦ χάριτι  
ἐτελιώθη τὸ πᾶν  
ἔργον τῆς ψηφώσεως  
τῇ Δαισίου ι', τοῦ εἰχ'  
5 ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'. Κ(ύριο)ς  
μνήσθητι Ἐγλωνος  
καὶ Μαξίμωνος,  
τῶν δούλων  
Σου.

**Date:** 10 Daisios 615 Az.E.(?) = June–July AD 557 or  
10 Daisios 615 A.E. = 4 July AD 512.

## Chapter 5

### THE "POMPEIAN" ERAS

A series of freedom eras was introduced in a number of cities on the Samarian and Philistine coast as well as in the Decapolis to commemorate their liberation from the Jews.<sup>1</sup> They are known as "Pompeian" eras, for Pompey, the leader of the Roman army granted these cities their autonomy under the auspices and direct supervision of the Roman governor of Syria.<sup>2</sup> This is, however, a misnomer since these eras were conceived and put into use by the city magistrates after Roman approval and are, therefore, local eras.<sup>3</sup> The year 1 varies from city to city and seems to have been fixed retrospectively.<sup>4</sup> The epochs of these liberation eras range between 64 and 60 BC.

The Pompeian eras can be classified into three distinct groups: a) those beginning in 64 BC encountered in sites east and south of the Sea of Galilee, b) those departing in 63 BC evidenced mainly in the areas east of Jordan and finally, c) those from the Samarian coast reckoning from 61 and 60 BC. The third group can neither be directly associated with Pompey's activity (64-63 BC) nor with Gabinius' rebuilding of the demolished cities (57-55 BC) – which also inaugurated another series of local eras ("Gabinian" eras).<sup>5</sup> Thus it seems that these communities began to recover during the office of Pompey's successor, Marcus Philippus (61-60 BC).<sup>6</sup>

The Pompeian eras were employed not only by the cities freed by Pompey, but also by minor settlements belonging to their territories. They seem to have been uninterruptedly used until the Muslim conquest (AD 636-640), while some of them survived well into the seventh (eras of Gaza and Gadara) or even into the early eighth centuries AD (era of Philadelphia).

**Calendar:** There is no evidence concerning the exact nature of the calendar associated with the Pompeian eras before the Julian reform (46 BC). It is, however, very plausible that the Seleucid calendar starting in fall was the one used.<sup>7</sup>

The Julian reform did not impose a uniform calendar to accommodate the solar year of 365 1/4 days, instead each city was free to choose its own calendar. Various parameters such as tradition and geographical location may account for the types of the individual calendars. The character of the calendars of the cities around the Sea of Galilee is not very clear. Restricted numismatic and epigraphical information as well as better documented calendars in the adjacent cities (Antioch, Tyre) point to

1. A.G. Wright, "Syria and Arabia", *PEFQS* 1895, p. 68, who wrongly labelled these city eras "provincial" and assumed a common epoch (64 BC) for all of them; Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 340-41 and 365; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 73; Spijkerman, *Coins*, p. 15.

2. Josephus, *Antiq.* 14.4.4-75-76, *War* 1.7.7-155-156; B. Isaac, "The Decapolis in Syria, a Neglected Inscription", *ZPE* 44 (1981), p. 71.

3. Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 341 and 365; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 47; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 126 and note 211, who mixed up the notion of the era with that of the calendar.

4. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 341, note 2.

5. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 47; Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 79.

6. Glucker, p. 38 and note 12.

7. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "Le cippe Nabatéen de D'meir et l'introduction en Syrie du calendrier romain", *RAO* I (1888), p. 71; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 341.

varieties of Julianized calendars beginning in the fall (Syro-Macedonian ones).<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the *Hemerologia* of Rome and Leiden reveal that the calendar of Gaza, like those of Ascalon (and province of Arabia save the year start), was affected by the Alexandrine calendar and began its cycle in the fall too. Although some cities remained to the end loyal to the Macedonian month names (Gaza), some others (Scythopolis, Gerasa etc.) began to employ the Roman nomenclature from the sixth century AD onwards.

#### Conversion rule:

**Epoch 64 BC:** For dates between fall and 31 December we subtract 64, while for those between 1 January and fall we subtract 63.

**Epoch 63 BC:** For dates between fall and 31 December we subtract 63, while for those between 1 January and fall we subtract 62.

**Epoch 61(or 60) BC:** For dates between fall and 31 December we subtract 61 (60 respectively), while for those between 1 January and fall we subtract 60 (59 respectively).

Josephus' account regarding the cities liberated from the Hasmoneans by Pompey as well as inscriptions and coins prove that the following cities made use of Pompeian freedom eras:<sup>9</sup> a) on the Phoenician coast: Tripolis, Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, Dora, b) on the Samaritan and Philistine coast: Turrus Stratonis (Caesarea), Joppe, Jamneia, Azotos, Ascalon, Anthedon, Gaza, Raphia, and c) in the Decapolis: Hippos (or Antiochia ad Hippum), Gadara, Abila Leucas, Dion, Kanata, Scythopolis, Pella, Gerasa (or Antiochia on the Chrysoroas), Philadelphia.

In the present study, however, only the eras attested in inscriptions are discussed.

## 1. Hippos

Ancient Hippos (the Aramaic *Susitha*), a city of the Decapolis, has been identified with the ruins of Qalaat el-Husn located on a hill on the eastern shore of Lake Gennesaret.<sup>10</sup> Conquered by Alexander Jannaeus,<sup>11</sup> it is later mentioned by Josephus<sup>12</sup> among the cities liberated by Pompey. According to the evidence furnished by coins<sup>13</sup> struck during the reigns of Nero, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and Commodus, the era of Hippos is classified under the so-called Pompeian eras. A closer fixing of the epoch of this era can be obtained only from a bronze coin of Elagabalus published by H. Seyrig.<sup>14</sup> This coin bears the year numeral 285 which, estimated according to an era beginning in 63 BC as Seyrig rightly observed, gives the date fall AD 222 – fall AD 223 after Elagabalus' death (12 March AD 222). Therefore the starting point of the era of Hippos should be placed in fall of 64 BC.

Hippos has yielded up to now only one dated inscription found on the mosaic pavement of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damianos.<sup>15</sup> The dating formula consists

8. Clermont-Ganneau (supra note 7); Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 341-42.

9. Wright (supra note 1), pp. 68-69; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 358.

10. Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 130-31, where all relevant bibliography is given; D. Urman, *The Golan (BAR-S 269, Oxford 1985)*, pp. 121-22.

11. Saulcy, p. 345; Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 69; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 131.

12. Josephus, *Antiq.* 14.4.4-75; idem, *War* 1.7.7-156.

13. Saulcy, pp. 344-47.

14. H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes 73. Temples, cultes et souvenirs historiques de la Décapole", *Syria* 36 (1959), pp. 70-71.

15. Notes and News, *IEJ* 3 (1953), p. 133.

of the inverted year numeral δνχ' (last line) and the letters ΟΥΑΡΙΩ (penultimate line) which must refer to the month name and may be restored possibly as [Ιαν]-ουαρίω or [Φεβρ]ουαρίω. Unfortunately the indiction year, which would be decisive for the era's determination, is missing. Nevertheless, the year numeral in ascending order points to a Pompeian era. Therefore, if we accept the above mentioned epoch in autumn 64 BC, the inscription dates to January or February of AD 591. Such a late date is very interesting for it shows that the era of Hippos was still in use in the late sixth century AD (see I.C. no 28). Besides, the mention of a Roman month suggests that the Macedonian month designations of the assumed Julianized calendar in Hippos had already been replaced by the Roman ones at least by the end of the sixth century AD.

1. *HIPPOS (Qalaat el-Husn; Susita)* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Galilea (SBFCollMin 13, Jerusalem 1971)*, pp. 70-71, fig. 46.

-----  
 ---- φωτι?]-  
 στήριον, [μ(ηνι) 'Ιαν- or Φεβρ]-  
 ουαρίω, Ι [---],  
 ἔτ(ους) δνχ'.

**Date:** January or February 654 E.H. = January or February AD 591.

### 1a. El-'Al and Khisfin

The settlement of El-'Al, located in the immediate vicinity of Hippos, was definitely included in this city's territory. This fact enables to convert the date inscribed on a basalt block from El-'Al (no. 2) according to the era of Hippos, in spite of the descending order of the year numeral and the lack of mention of indiction year due to the early date of the inscription.

The Roman and Byzantine settlement in the location of modern Khisfin was part of Hippos' civil<sup>16</sup> and episcopal<sup>17</sup> territory. Therefore, Hippos' Pompeian era would have also been employed by this dependent community. This turns out to be true on the grounds of an inscription (no. 3) referring to the renovation of a church which occurred in the month of July of a seventh indiction year and coincided with the era year 667. The date formula can be synchronized and translated into a plausible date (July AD 604) if one accepts as epoch of the era in discussion that of Hippos, i.e. fall of 64 BC.

16. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 170.

17. C. Epstein, "Hippos" in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. II (London 1976), p. 521; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 132 and note 237; Urman (*supra* note 10), p. 88.

2. *EL-ʿAL* block  
Bibl. H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950), p. 247.

Γ. Λούκιος Μάρκελλος, οὐ(ε)τρ(ανός)  
λεγι(ώνος) ἀ΄ Παρθικῆς Σεουηρι(ανῆς)  
τὸν κόσμον ἐκδημήσας,  
ἐν δυσὶ πυγμαῖς ἀθλεύσας,  
ἤλθον ἰς τὴν πατρί-  
δαν, τόδε τὸ ἥρῳον οἰ-  
κοδομήσας· ὦδε, ἐπαύσα-  
τό μου ἡ ψυχὴ, ἔτους σπθ΄.

Date: 289 E.H. = Fall AD 225 – fall AD 226.

3. *KHISFIN* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 26 (1976-1977), p. 390, no. 1676.

+ Προσφορὰ Ὀλυμπίου κ(αἰ) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Λεοντίου  
κ(αἰ) Εὐγενίου, υἱῷ <ν>. Κ(αἰ) ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως  
Οὐάρου πατρ(ός) κ(αἰ) Βασιλίου κ(αἰ) Εὐγενίου, ἀδελφῶν καὶ  
[Οὐ]άρου, υἱοῦ, εὐχαριστῶν ἀνεγένεωσεν τὸν ἅγιον οἶκ(ον),  
5 [διὰ σ]πουδῆς Θωμᾶ, πρε(σβυτέρου) κ(αἰ) ἡγουμέ(νου), ἐν μηνί  
Ἰουλίῳ, ἰνδ(ικτιώνος) ζ΄, ἔτους ζξχ΄.

Date: July 667 E.H., 7th ind. = July AD 604.

## 2. Tafas

The site of Tafas, located 13 km. NNW of Dera,<sup>18</sup> has yielded two dated inscriptions whose inverted year numerals indicate their connection with a Pompeian era. Especially the first (no. 4) of these inscriptions, commemorating the erection of a portico with two arcades by a certain Apollophanes,<sup>19</sup> is of crucial importance for the fixing of the epoch of this era because of a reference made to the emperor Otho.<sup>20</sup> The ephemeral reign of Otho lasted from 15 January till 25 April AD 69.<sup>21</sup> The only way for the year numeral (132 P.E.) to coincide with the reign of this emperor is to convert it by subtracting the year number 63. Since 63 is the number subtracted from January to October, that is the second part of the year, the epoch of the Pompeian era at Tafas can be established with certainty in fall of 64 BC.<sup>22</sup> Following

18. H. Bietenhard, "Die Dekapolis von Pompeius bis Trajan", *ZDPV* 79 (1963), p. 27.

19. Ch. Fosse, "Inscriptions de Syrie", *BCH* 21 (1897), p. 47, no. 29; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "Archaeological and Epigraphic Notes on Palestine", *PEFQS* 1902, p. 22, no. 12; idem, "Sur quelques inscriptions grecques du Hauran", *RAO* V (1903), pp. 22-23; Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 359-61; *IGRR* III (1906), p. 431, no. 1164; R. Mouterde, "Inscriptions grecques de l'Institut de Damas", *Syria* 6 (1925), pp. 228-29; *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 48, no. 257.

20. Mouterde (supra note 19), p. 362.

21. Cagnat, p. 188.

22. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 359; Seyrig (supra note 14), p. 71, note 1.

this starting point, the date (Pompeian year 371) of the second inscription from Tafas<sup>23</sup> (no. 7) falls in AD 307/8.

It should be noted that according to Schwartz<sup>24</sup> the Apollophanes inscription was found not in Tafas itself but in Tell el-Ash'ari, a site 4-5 km. west of Tafas. Clermont-Ganneau, although putting the inscription in Tafas, claimed that "the two places, Tell el-Ash'ari and Tafas, may be regarded as practically forming part of the same territory".<sup>25</sup>

This assumption is corroborated by the fact that Apollophanes, the person who dedicated the portico (AD 69) and constructed a public building<sup>26</sup> (during Nero's reign) in Tafas a few years later (during Titus' reign) also set up an altar<sup>27</sup> in Tell el-Ash'ari.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore Tell el-Ash'ari is tentatively identified with Dion,<sup>29</sup> a city of the Decapolis. In the area between Tell el-Ash'ari and Tafas one Greek dated inscription (no. 6) has also been collected. It is interesting to note that the year numeral of this inscription, as is the case with the Apollophanes inscription too, is introduced by the symbol L (denoting the word *λυκάβας*=year).

It is very plausible that the dated inscriptions discovered in the villages of Tell Abyad<sup>30</sup> (no. 8) and Da'l<sup>31</sup> (no. 5), located near Tafas, used an analogous Pompeian era.

4. *TAFAS* lintel (?)

Bibl. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQS* 1902, pp. 21-22; *PA* III, p. 309; *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 48, no. 257.

Λ βλρ'. Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκρά[τορος Σεβα]-  
στοῦ Μάρκου Ὁθωνος σωτη[ρίας, Ἀπολ]-  
λοφ[άν]ης Διογένους, πατὴρ π[ό]λεως, τὴν  
στοὰν σὺν [τ]αῖς δυσὶ ψαλίσι οἰκ[ο]δόμησεν  
5 ἐκ [τῶν ιδίων, εὖσε]β(ε)ίας χάριν, T [- - -].

**Date:** 132 P.E. = 15 January – 25 April AD 69.

5. *DA'L* lintel

Bibl. Ch. Fossey, *BCH* 21 (1897), pp. 49-50, no. 37; *PA* III, p. 332; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 47, note 162.

Προνοία Ῥούφου Μοσέμου καὶ  
Σιγιλίου Ῥαθέδου καὶ Μοε-  
άρου Ἀβγάρου οἰκοδόμησαν, ἔτ(ους) σ'.

23. Mouterde (supra note 19), pp. 229-30, no. 9; *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 49, no. 258.

24. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 359.

25. Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQS* 1902, p. 22.

26. Mouterde (supra note 19), pp. 228-29, no. 8.

27. G.A. Smith "Notes of a Journey through Hauran with Inscriptions Found by the Way", *PEFQS* 1901, pp. 353-55; Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* V (1903), pp. 21-22; Mouterde (supra note 19), p. 228.

28. Of course the possibility of the later displacement of the stones and of their original placement in the same location cannot be excluded, see Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQS* 1902, p. 22, note 3.

29. Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 360-61; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 148, note 334.

30. Mouterde (supra note 19), p. 361, no. 42.

31. Fossey (supra note 19), pp. 49-50, no. 37.



**Date:** 200 P.E. = Fall AD 136 – fall AD 137.

*Comments:* Fossey as well as Brünnow and Domaszewski converted the date of this inscription according to the era of provincia Arabia (AD 305-306), but the location of Da'l speaks in favour of a Pompeian era (Sartre).

6. *TAFAS and TELL EL-ASH'ARI* (in between) block (?)  
Bibl. V. Chapot, *BCH* 24 (1900), p. 580; *PA* III, p. 344.

Λ ακτ'.  
Σωσί-  
βιε, φιλ-  
όφιλ-  
5 ε, χαϊ-  
ρε.

**Date:** 321 (?) P.E. = Fall AD 257 – fall AD 258.

7. *TAFAS* stele  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 49, no. 258.

[Ἐτ(ους)] α(?) στ'. Ἄ-  
τιμθα  
Σαμέθου  
Ἄτειθα (?).

**Date:** 371 (?) P.E. = Fall AD 307 – fall AD 308.

8. *TELL ABYAD* stele  
Bibl. R. Mouterde, *Syria* 6 (1925), pp. 361-62, no. 42; *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 49, no. 260.

Ἐτ(ους) αλν'.  
Θάρσι  
Τύρβω-  
ν Μαρο-  
5 όνης, φ-  
ίλο <ς> πά-  
ντων,  
ἐτ(ῶν) ο'.

**Date:** 431 P.E. = Fall AD 367 – fall AD 368.

### 3. Gadara

The starting point for the Pompeian era of Gadara is firmly fixed in fall of 64 BC through the juxtaposition of the imperial coinage of Nero, Elagabalus and Antoninus

Pius to their known careers.<sup>32</sup> A dated inscription from Hammat Gader contributes also to the establishment of 64 BC as the city's era epoch.

**Calendar:** As is the case with other cities in Decapolis, Gadara should have employed a Syro-Macedonian calendar after the Julian reform.<sup>33</sup> According to it the New Year begins in fall but the exact month day is not yet fixed.

**The inscriptions:** Only two dated inscriptions (nos. 9, 10) are classified under this local era. Their converted Julian dates assign them to the mid-fourth and mid-seventh centuries AD, respectively.

The rendering of each of the dating formulas complies with the dating fashion of the relevant periods. The earlier one (AD 354/5) is limited to recording the year numeral following the word "ἔτους". But in this case the date as well as the artist's (or poet's) name are incised in the margins of the inscription field flanking the funerary epigram,<sup>34</sup> as they were probably afterthoughts and of secondary importance.

In the later inscription (AD 662) an increased and serious concern for the date is obvious. The dating formula, moving almost to the end of the inscription, occupies three and a half out of a total of nine verses of the text. It is meticulously augmented by the Roman month, the month day, the day of the week, the indiction year and the rare expression "ἔτους τῆς κολων(ίας)" referring to the local era. Qualification of the era is necessary since the corresponding year of the Hegira era (also designated) is given too. The addition of the Muhammadan era finds a historical explanation: Palestine fell into the hands of the Muslims in the years AD 636-640. Twenty years after this conquest the supreme ruler (Umayyad caliph Mu'awiya) as well as the governor ('Abd Allah ibn Abu Hashim) were Muslims, as the inscription also confirms.<sup>35</sup>

The use of the Hegira era could have served as indication and propaganda for the new political order and the change of masters. The "Pompeian" era, on the other hand, was a more familiar chronological system to the local population which was the direct recipient of this beneficial installment. The Ummayyad tolerance<sup>36</sup> towards the Christians as well as a strong wish of the persons involved to perpetuate their memory sanctioned the use of the local dating system. The Arabian date is severely reduced to the year numeral after the expression "κατ' Ἀραβ(ας) ἔτους ...". Another interesting aspect is the descending order of the Arabian year numeral in contrast to the ascending order of the Pompeian year.

32. Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 358-59; *RE* VII, 1 (1910), col. 436, s.v. Gadara (Benziger); Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 47; G. Dalman, "Inscriben aus Palästina", *ZDPV* 37 (1914), pp. 143-44; F. Bleckmann, "Bericht über griechische und lateinische Epigraphik", *ZDPV* 38 (1915), p. 235; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 134, note 248; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 215.

33. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 358.

34. F. Zayadine, "A Dated Greek Inscription from Gadara-Um Qeis", *ADAJ* 18 (1973), p. 78.

35. R. Schick, *The Fate of the Christians in Palestine during the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition, AD 600-750* (Diss. Univ. of Chicago 1987), pp. 481-82.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

9. *GADARA (Umm Qeis)* lintel  
Bibl. F. Zayadine, *ADAJ* 18 (1973), p. 78.

Σοὶ λέγω τῷ διερχομένῳ·  
οἷος εἶ, ἤμην, οἷος εἰμεί, ἔσε.  
Χρῆσαι τῷ βίῳ ὡς θνητός.  
Ἔτους (above left dovetail) ηιν'. (above right dovetail)  
Ἀραβίου (left dovetail) τεχνί/του ἔρ/γον. (right dovetail)

**Date:** 418 Gad.E. = Fall AD 354 – fall AD 355.

10. *HAMMAT GADER (area of Emmatha Gadarorum)* slab  
Bibl. *SEG* 30 (1980), p. 482, no. 1687; J. Green and Y. Tsafir, *IEJ* 32 (1982), pp. 94-96.

+ Ἐπὶ Ἀβδάλλα Μαάυια, ἀμήρα  
ἀλμουμένην, ἀπελύθη κ(αι) ἀνε-  
νεώθη ὁ κλίβανος τῶν ἐνταυ-  
θα, διὰ Ἀβδάλλα, υἱοῦ Ἀβουασέμου  
5 συμβούλου, ἐν μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ  
πέμπτῃ, ἡμέρᾳ δευτέρᾳ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ς',  
ἔτους τῆς κολων(ίας) ςκψ', κατ' Ἀραβα(ς)  
ἔτους μβ', εἰς ἰασην τῶν νοσοῦν-  
των, σπουδῇ Ἰωάννου μ(αγιστριανοῦ), Γαδαρηνοῦ.

**Date:** 5 December 726 Gad.E., 6th ind., 42 H.E. = 5 December AD 662.

### 3a. Philoteria

Khirbet el-Kerak is identified with the Talmudic Beth Yerah and the Ptolemaic foundation Philoteria.<sup>37</sup> It was located east of Jordan's issue from the Sea of Galilee<sup>38</sup> and consequently it belonged to the area of Decapolis. More specifically it lay on the border shared between Hippos and Gadara.<sup>39</sup> Literary allusions regarding the assignment of the site to one territory or the other are contradictory and absence of any direct evidence hinders the task. The only information concerning its status is furnished by Polybius (5. 70). Judging from his phraseology, one thinks of Philoteria at the end of the third century BC as an administrative capital of a district rather than a city owning territory.<sup>40</sup>

In any case, the epoch of the city era should be fall of 64 BC in agreement with that of Hippos, Gadara and Scythopolis, on the condition that the town ever even used a Pompeian era. This reservation is put forward because of Jone's statement that Pompey did not reestablish Philoteria after its destruction by Alexander

37. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, p. 88.

38. Idem, *Holy Land*, p. 138.

39. Ibid., p. 174.

40. Jones, *Cities*, pp. 240, 450 and note 20.

Jannaeus<sup>41</sup> and because of the descending order of the year numeral in a mosaic inscription (no. 11) of the Byzantine church uncovered there. Jones was obviously led to this conclusion by the fact that Philoteria is not enumerated in Josephus' lists of cities liberated by Pompey.

However, it has been proved that Josephus' lists are incomplete. The Greek year numeral (591) paired with the seventh indiction year suits perfectly a Pompeian era beginning in 64 BC. Even if the city did not recover immediately after Pompey's peace, it certainly revived in Roman times as the ruins of a fort (2nd-3rd centuries AD) and a bath (4th-5th centuries AD) imply.<sup>42</sup> At the time of its restoration, the settlement, following the example of the other cities around it, could have introduced the current Pompeian era backdated to fall of 64 BC. The late date of the inscription (October(?) – 31 December AD 528) may account for the unprecedented order of the year numeral.

11. *PHILOTERIA* (Khirbet el-Kerak) mosaic pavement  
Bibl. C.H. Kraeling, "The Mosaic Inscriptions" in P. Delougaz and R.C. Haines, *A Byzantine Church at Khirbat al-Karak* (*The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications* 85, Chicago 1960), pp. 53-54; *SEG* 37 (1987), p. 463, no. 1474B.

[ -- -- Θ]εοδόρω Μάγιστρ(ο)ς καὶ Θεοφιλᾷς καὶ Βασίλ[ω]  
ἐπι[ -- -- ἐγ]νετο ἡ ψίφωσις τοῦ μεσαύλου καὶ τοῦ διακονικοῦ,  
ἐπὶ τ[ -- -- ] πρε(σβυτέρων) Ἡλίου καὶ Βασσίλου, ἰνδικτιόνος ζ', ἔτους  
φζα'.

Date: 591 P.E., 7th ind. = October (?) – 31 December AD 528.

#### 4. Nysa–Scythopolis

Nysa-Scythopolis (Beth Shean) also employed a "Pompeian" era. Its starting point in October 64 BC seems quite secure on the basis of a mosaic inscription of the sixth century AD (no. 17) uncovered near the necropolis east of the city.<sup>43</sup> Coins<sup>44</sup> and a number of inscriptions reckoned according to this epoch furnish plausible dates which demonstrate that the "Pompeian" era in Scythopolis was in use until at least the late sixth century AD.<sup>45</sup>

41. Ibid., pp. 240, 255 and 257.

42. B. Maisler, M. Stekelis and M. Avi-Yonah, "The Excavations at Beth Yerah (Khirbet el-Kerak) 1944-1946", *IEJ* 2 (1952), p. 223; R. Hestrin, "Beth Yerah" in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. I (London-Jerusalem 1975), p. 262.

43. S. Ben-Dor, "Concerning the Era of Nysa-Scythopolis", *PEQ* 1944, p. 152; H. Seyrig, "Sur quelques ères syriennes", *RN* 6 (1964), p. 65.

44. S. Ben-Dor (supra note 43, pp. 152-56), following Hill's theory, accepted that the use of a Caesarean era (reckoned from 47 BC) in Scythopolis is based only on coins of Nero and Geta struck in this city. But Seyrig (supra note 43, pp. 65-67) proved that the arguments in favour of such a misleading view were provided by the wrong reading of the year numerals and the false identification of the portrayed emperor.

45. A. Alt, "Inchriftliches zu den Ären von Skythopolis und Philadelphia", *ZDPV* 55 (1932), pp. 128-32, no. 1; S. Ben-Dor, "Two New Coins from Nysa-Scythopolis", *PEQ* 1945, pp. 47-48.

**Calendar:** The calendar used by the “Pompeian” era of Scythopolis after its alignment with the Julian calendar could not have been other than Syro-Macedonian, commencing its year in fall. The early sixth century AD mosaic inscription mentioned above helps to establish the beginning of the year in October, since it refers to the Macedonian month Panemos and the Roman month September as belonging to the same Pompeian year (585).<sup>46</sup> This implies that the Scythopolitan year after the Julian reform started no earlier than October, although its first day remains unknown. From the sixth century AD henceforth the months of the obviously Julianized calendar are named according to the Julian fashion (see analytical discussion below).

**The inscriptions:** Two inscriptions from Scythopolis date to the first (if inscr. no. 13 has been read correctly), one to the second and one to the third centuries AD, while the other five inscriptions belong to the sixth century AD. The latter epigraphical group commemorates building works and restorations, whereas of the other inscriptions three are dedicatory and one burial.

Following the model of other chronological systems, the dating element in the earlier examples is limited to the year numeral at the top or at the bottom of the text. For the sixth century, however, a full dating formula (year, indiction year and in one case month and month day) is recorded usually at the end of the inscription or in the penultimate phrase.

The simultaneous use of a Macedonian and a Roman month name in inscription no. 17 which is dated in AD 522 deserves special attention. This shows that the Roman month nomenclature is employed in Scythopolis already in the early sixth century AD.<sup>47</sup> Additional evidence in support of this statement is offered by two mosaic pavements, one in the Monastery of Lady Mary at Beth Shean and the other in a chamber tomb at El-Ḥammām, dated in ca. AD 567 and the middle of the sixth century AD, respectively.<sup>48</sup> Both preserve the representation of the twelve months, accompanied by a Greek inscription giving the Roman name of each month and the number of its days. Another instance where a Roman month (January) is recorded is in a mutilated mosaic inscription from a synagogue.<sup>49</sup> The latter is connected with changes and restorations of the fifth or early sixth centuries AD on the grounds of archaeological evidence and palaeographical criteria.<sup>50</sup> All the year numerals are reversed except for those of inscription no. 20.

46. Alt (supra note 45); L. H. Vincent, “L’ère de Scythopolis d’après une inscription nouvelle”, *RB* 42 (1933), pp. 559-61.

47. The use of Roman month names is common in Byzantine mosaics in Northern Palestine, while in Southern Palestine and Negev the names remain Macedonian down to the end of the Byzantine period and later according to M. Avi-Yonah, “Mosaic Pavements at El-Ḥammām, Beisān”, *QDAP* 5 (1935) [1936], p. 25.

48. G. M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shan (Scythopolis)*, (Publications of the Palestine Section of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania IV, Philadelphia 1939), Appendix p. 19, pl. XXII; Avi-Yonah (supra note 47), pp. 22-26; *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 12, nos. 41-42; R. and A. Ovadia, *Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 26-27, pls. XXI-XXII and p. 31, pl. XXV.

49. N. Tsovi, *Sukenik Memorial Volume*, *EI* 8 (1967), p. 159 (English summary, p. 73); B. Lifshitz, “Scythopolis à l’ époque hellénistique et impériale”, *ANRW* II, 8 (1977), p. 287; R. and A. Ovadia, *Mosaic Pavements*, p. 33.

50. The synagogue to which the mosaic pavement belonged was built at the end of the fourth century AD. It underwent modifications and restorations in the second half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century AD. B. Lifshitz (supra note 49, p. 286) ascribes the inscription with the month name to the first half of the sixth century, while R. and A. Ovadia (*Mosaic Pavements*, p. 33) to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century AD.

All the above mentioned mosaics supply extremely valuable evidence concerning the nature of the calendar employed in Scythopolis (in conjunction with the Pompeian era). Inscription no. 17 with the interchangeable Macedonian and Roman month nomenclatures proves that both designation modes were familiar to the populations and alludes to the identical character of both Syro-Macedonian and the Julian calendaric systems. It is apparent that only a Julianized calendar with Macedonian names could work within the pattern of the Roman (purely Julian) one. In other words, their implied structural similarity could support the idea of the equation of the two calendars after 46 BC (as in Antioch) and the use of the Roman names as alternative designations for the Julianized Macedonian ones from the sixth century AD onwards. However, the correspondence between the Macedonian and Julian month names is quite vague (Panemos = July?).

The number of days of each Roman month recorded in their mosaic representations at Beth Shean and El-Ḥammām demonstrates that the Scythopolitan Roman calendar of the sixth century AD was true Julian in terms of nomenclature and structure and Greek regarding the count of days. Furthermore, the personification of January as the head of the month cycle in the rectangular panel at El-Ḥammām may point to acceptance of the Roman beginning of the year in January. One cannot, however, be categorical on this issue since the Syro-Macedonian tradition for starting the year in fall was still strong and – at least – active in AD 522, when the Roman nomenclature started competing against the Macedonian (inscr. no. 17). Besides, this representation scheme could be the borrowing of a Roman motif without reference to the local calendaric system (see also calendar of Gerasa).

12. *NYSA–SCYTHOPOLIS* (Beth Shean) altar  
Bibl. G. Foerster and Y. Tsafir in *Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1987/88*, vol. 6 (Jerusalem 1988), p. 31. We reproduce the English translation of the Greek inscription, as given by the excavators, awaiting its final publication. The same is the case with nos. 15 and 16.

With good fortune  
Seleucos, son of Ariston,  
[dedicated] as a thanks offering to the god,  
the lord Dionysos, the founder,  
in the year 75.

**Date:** 75 Sc.E. = October AD 11 – September (?) AD 12.

13. *NYSA–SCYTHOPOLIS* (Beth Shean) sarcophagus  
Bibl. *SEG* 31 (1981), p. 373, no. 1424.

Ἐτ(ους) πε'. Ἀντιόχου  
Φαλλίωνος Καβώα (?).

**Date:** 85 Sc.E. = October AD 21 – September (?) AD 22.

*Comments:* The following three points refer to the year numeral and the career of the person involved and make the discussion regarding the date of this inscription very tentative and indecisive:

- a. The numeral could alternatively record the age of the defunct (L. H. Vincent, *RB* 32[1923], p. 435). Consequently the inscription is undated.
- b. The year numeral has also been read as “πετ”. It has accordingly been converted into Julian dates with the help of the Pompeian (AD 321/2) or the Seleucid (AD 73/74) eras (A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan I* [Philadelphia 1930], p. 49). The resulting confusion is obvious.
- c. Antiochus is identified as the cousin of Herod the Great (Vincent, Rowe, etc.). If this is true, the converted death date of Antiochus according to the “Pompeian” era (AD 21/22) agrees with the known historical career of his father. G. Fuks (*IEJ* 31[1981], pp. 237-38) rejected this identification with the argument that a first century AD Jew would hardly be given the name of the hated Antiochus IV Epiphanes. According to him Antiochus was a pagan inhabitant of Scythopolis.

14. *NYSA-SCYTHOPOLIS* (Beth Shean) base  
Bibl. *SEG* 20 (1964), p. 133, no. 456.

Ἐτους γσ´.  
Λούκιος Οὐάριος Κυ-  
ρεῖνα Πρόκλος, Δι  
5 Ἀκρα[ί]φ [Σ]ω[τ]ήρι,  
μετ' εὐχαριστίας  
ἀνέθηκε[ν].

**Date:** 203 Sc.E. = October AD 139 – September (?) AD 140.

15. *NYSA-SCYTHOPOLIS* (Beth Shean) altar  
Bibl. G. Mazor in *Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1987/88*, vol. 6 (Jerusalem 1988), p. 17. For the English translation of the Greek text see inscr. no. 12.

With good fortune  
To the Lady Patria  
.....  
dedicated by vow.  
Year 299.

**Date:** 299 Sc.E. = October AD 235 – September (?) AD 236.

16. *NYSA-SCYTHOPOLIS* (Beth Shean) block  
Bibl. G. Foerster and Y. Tsafir in *Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1987/88*, vol. 6 (Jerusalem 1988), p. 41. For the English translation of the Greek text see inscr. no. 12.

**In the days of Flavius Orestes, the most  
magnificent comes and archon, the famous  
work of the pavement and the new water  
supply system was carried out, under the  
supervision of Silvinius, son of Marinus, the  
illustrious comes and the protos (first of the  
citizens), in year 15 of the indiction, year 585.**

**Date:** 585 Sc.E., 15th ind. = October AD 521 – 31 August AD 522.

17. *NYSA-SCYTHOPOLIS* (Beth Shean) mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), pp. 10-11, no. 37.

+ Ἐκτίσθι τὸ μον(αστήριον) τοῦτο(?) τοῦ ἀββ[ᾶ] Ἰουσι-  
τίν(ου) τοῦ ἀποκ(ρисиарίου?) το(οπικοῦ?), ἐν χρόν[οις] ἰνδ(ικτιόνος)]  
εἰ, ἔτους επφ', ἐν μη(νὶ) Πανίμ(ου) κ[.], κ(αὶ) ἐν τὸ α[-  
ὕτὸ ἐνιαυτὸ ἀπεκ(ατεστάθη?) ἐν μη(νὶ) Σε(π)τεμβρίου] [., ἰνδ(ικτιό-  
νος) α'],

5 πρ(οσ)φ(ο)ρ(ῶ) Ἀνοισίου σχο(λαστικοῦ). Κ(ύρι)ε, βο(ήθησον) Ν ...

**Date:** 2 [.] Panemos 585 Sc.E. = June-July AD 522.  
September (585) Sc.E. = September AD 522.

18. *NYSA-SCYTHOPOLIS* (Beth Shean) block  
Bibl. V. Tzaferis and G. Mazor, "Beth Shean 1987: Excavations NW to the Theater" (excavation report); G. Mazor in *Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1987/88*, vol. 6 (Jerusalem 1988), p. 17.

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη  
ἐπὶ Φλα[ου]τοῦ Νυσίου Σεργίου  
Σκυθο[πολίτου], τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμ[ητος]  
καὶ ὑπατικοῦ, τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ  
5 ἐμβόλου ἀνίγιρεν,  
πολιτικ[ῶν] χρημάτων μὴ παρα-  
ψάμενος. Ἐτ[ο]υς ηζφ', ἰνδικ[τιῶνος] γι'.

**Date:** 598 Sc.E., 13th ind. = October AD 534 – 31 August AD 535.

19. *NYSA-SCYTHOPOLIS* (Beth Shean) mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 11, no. 38; G.M. FitzGerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shan (Scythopolis)*, (*Publications of the Palestine Section of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania* IV, Philadelphia 1939), p. 16, pl. XXI.

Ἐτελιώθη σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ  
τὸ ἔργον, ἐν χρόνοις  
Ἡλίου θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου)  
[κ(αὶ) ἐν]κλ(ήστου), [ἔτ(ους) ζι or βλ.] χ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β'.

**Date:** 6[17] or 6[32] Sc.E., 2nd ind. = October AD 553 (or 568) – 31 August AD 554 (or 569).

*Comments:* The stroke above the mutilated year numeral is long enough to have capped three characters (αιχ'). Thus, the Pompeian year 611 (= AD 547/8) would be the earliest "terminus post quem". Another "terminus" is provided by another mosaic of the church (*SEG* 8[1937], pp. 11-12, no. 40). In this inscription, dated on May AD 567, Elias, the recluse, is once again mentioned. Thus, the candidates for the emendation of the year numeral would be the years after AD 547 until and around AD 566/7, which fell in the second indiction, i.e. AD 553/4 and 568/9.



20. *NYSA–SCYTHOPOLIS* (Beth Shean) slab  
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 13 (1963), pp. 325-26.

+ Θεόδωρος ὁ ποιμήν,  
λουτρὰ καινουργῶν, νέμε[ι]  
τοῖς τὴν ἄκραν νοσοῦσι τῆς  
λώβης νόσον· +  
5 ἐν χρ(όνοις) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ', ἔτους χκβ'.

Date: 622 Sc.E., 7th ind. = October AD 558 – 31 August AD 559.

## 5. Pella

Ancient Pella, a city of the Decapolis, is identified with the significant ruins of Tabaqat Fahl.<sup>51</sup> It is mentioned among the cities Pompey restored to their own inhabitants and set free<sup>52</sup> and it is reasonable for this city to have adopted an era associated with this event.<sup>53</sup> Armed with this assumption, numismatists tested the coin dates against the imperial career of the rulers involved on the basis of 64 BC.<sup>54</sup> However, the combination of dates furnished by a coin<sup>55</sup> and an inscription (no. 21) fixes the epoch of the era of Pella in fall of 63 BC. The legends of the coin, both names – Αὐ(ρήλιος) Κόμοδος Ἀντωνῖνος – and the dating formula – ἔτ(ους) βμς' – provide useful clues for the conversion of the era date to Julian chronology. Commodus received the title Antoninus only after Marcus Aurelius' death on 17 March AD 180.<sup>56</sup> Consequently, the era behind this numeral, since it originates from Pompey's benefaction, should be calculated according to an epoch of 63 BC.

This starting point sets the specific coinage series between April and September AD 180, that is immediately after Commodus had acquired the supreme authority of the empire as a sole sovereign. This epoch correlates well with the data provided in burial inscription no. 21 dated by era and indiction years. The inverted order of the year numeral points to a Pompeian era. Unfortunately the indiction year is missing the units figure. The decade sign – an iota –, however, helps to establish the span within which the departure point of the "Pompeian" era should lie. It ranges from 64 to 62 BC. This conclusion, backed by the date gained from Commodus' coinage, firmly establishes Pella's era in fall of 63 BC.<sup>57</sup>

The calendar of the era should obviously be Syro-Macedonian having the beginning of the year in fall. It is a pity that the lone dated inscription from Pella does not record the month next to the other dating components. But, judging from the evidence provided by the calendars of the neighbouring cities (Gerasa, Scythopolis), the Macedonian nomenclature should have been in concurrence with the Julian one by the early sixth century AD, i.e. the time of the inscription.

51. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 175; Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 145-47; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, p. 86.

52. Josephus, *Antiq.* 14.4.4-75; idem, *War* 1.7.7-156.

53. Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 147 and note 329.

54. Saulcy, pp. 291-95.

55. H. Herzfelder, "Contribution à la numismatique de la Décapole", *RN* 4th ser. 39 (1936), p. 287, no. 4.

56. Ibid.; Stevenson, *Dictionary*, p. 240 (mintages of Commodus).

57. Seyrig (supra note 14), p. 71; Ginzel's (*Handbuch* III, p. 49) tentative suggestion about an era between 61 and 57 BC should thus be abandoned.

21. *PELLA (Tabaqat Fah)* lintel  
Bibl. R.H. Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis*, vol. I (London 1973), pp. 188-91.

+ Μνημῆον διαφέρον Ἰωάννη  
[Θεοδ]ωρ(ι)κκου καὶ ἐτέρω Ἰωάννη,  
καθοσιωμένοις στρατιώταις, ὁρμωμένοις ἀπ(ὸ)  
χ(ωρ)ῶν τοῦ Ἀράβων ἔθνους. Γενόμενον ἐν χρόνο-  
5 ις ἰνδικτ(ιώνος) ιε], τοῦ δ' ἔτους.

Date: 584 E.Pel., 1[5]th ind. = Fall AD 521 – 31 August AD 522.

### 5a. Khirbet el-Maqati'

In Kh. el-Maqati', a small village about six kilometres north of Ajlun, a chapel was partially excavated in 1970 by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. The mosaic floor uncovered in the chapel preserves an inscription in a medallion (no. 22) which bears the year numeral 545 and the indiction year 6.<sup>58</sup> A correlation between these two dating elements can be obtained only by using a Pompeian era. However, the question of the starting point of the Pompeian era used in Kh. el-Maqati' must be considered in light of the territorial arrangement in the area. According to Avi-Yonah,<sup>59</sup> Ajlun (the nearest site to Kh. el-Maqati') was included in the northern border of the territory of Gerasa "on the evidence of the 12th milestone". Piccirillo,<sup>60</sup> on the other hand, argues that there is no sufficient evidence to decide whether Kh. el-Maqati' belonged to the neighbouring dioceses of Pella or of Gerasa and that it was certainly situated on the border line between them. Whatever the case, an epoch fixed in fall of 63 BC is appropriate for the village of Kh. el-Maqati' since both cities, Pella and Gerasa, had 63 BC as a departure point for their eras. The year numeral appears in ascending order, as is characteristic for the Pompeian dates. Although the inscription lacks a month reference, it could easily be assumed that a Syro-Macedonian calendar beginning in fall was used in Kh. el-Maqati', as in other cities of the Decapolis. It is noteworthy that the mosaic pavement of the church at Kh. el-Maqati' is the earliest dated mosaic discovered up to now in Jordan.<sup>61</sup>

22. *KHIRBET EL-MAQATI'* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 32 (1982), p. 412, no. 1492.

Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) γ(εννῆ).  
'Επὶ τοῦ θεο-  
σεβ(εστάτου) Αἰῶνος, πρεσ(βυτέρου),  
καὶ Βαράχωνος καὶ  
5 Μάγνου, εὐλαβ(εστάτων)

58. B. Van Elderen, "An Early Byzantine Inscription Found near Ajlun", *ADAJ* 17 (1972), pp. 73-75; Piccirillo, *Chiese*, pp. 23-25; *SEG* 32 (1982), p. 412, no. 1492.

59. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 175, note 339.

60. Piccirillo, *Chiese*, p. 25, note 30.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 23; idem, "La vie des églises de Jordanie révélée par les mosaïques", *Le Monde de la Bible*, 3rd trimester (Aug. - Oct.) 1984, p. 3.

διακ(όνων) καὶ Μακεδο-  
νίου, οἰκονόμου, ἐγέ-  
νετο ἡ ψίφωσις  
ἀπὸ προσφορᾶς τῆς  
10 κώμης, τῷ εμφ  
ἔτει, χρό(νων) ζ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

Date: 545 P.E., 6th ind. = Fall AD 482 – 31 August AD 483.

## 6. Gerasa

Gerasa, one of the most prosperous cities of the Decapolis, dated its numerous official documents and coins according to an era also inaugurated after its liberation by Pompey or one of his officers. The numismatic material so far discovered does not offer very decisive evidence on the era employed.<sup>62</sup> The dated inscriptions, however, not only witness the nature of the era and its epoch,<sup>63</sup> but they also provide plentiful material for palaeographical studies. Inscriptions dated by the era of Gerasa and simultaneously by indiction and month (nos. 69, 70, 73, 77, 79, 82, 84-88), or by the year of tribunician power and consulship of a Roman emperor (T.P. no. 3) have established year 1 of the Gerasene era definitely in the fall of 63 BC.

In earlier years when the inscriptions were less numerous, different readings and restorations of some inscriptions from Gerasa led to the assumption of alternative eras. The expression “in the year 129... of the imperial peace” of inscr. nos. 28, 29 was thought to refer to the Actian era.<sup>64</sup> A number of distinguished scholars<sup>65</sup> soon rejected this suggestion based on the fact that the designation referring to the circumstantial and ephemeral Actian era should be more indicative, era “τῆς νίκης”, not “τῆς εἰρήνης”, as is the case of the inscription from Ma'âd/Phoenicia.<sup>66</sup> Dittenberger<sup>67</sup> connected this formula with an era starting in 9 BC, when the Altar of Peace was consecrated on the Campus Martius. Kubitschek, Schwartz, McCown and Schürer<sup>68</sup> more reasonably took the phrase as an allusion to the world peace declared in AD 66/67, when the Armenian king Tiridates visited Nero in Rome.<sup>69</sup>

62. Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 152; P.-L. Gatiér, “Philadelphie et Gerasa du royaume nabatéen à la province d'Arabie” in P.-L. Gatiér, B. Helly and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (eds.), *Géographie historique au Proche Orient (Syrie, Phénicie, Arabie grecques, romaines, byzantines), Actes de la Table Ronde de Valbonne, 1985 (Notes et Monographies Techniques du CNRS 23, Paris 1988)*, p. 165 and note 59, suggests that two Gerasene coins struck in the time of Elagabalus and bearing the date 281 are compatible with the emperor's early rule, only if converted by the epoch of 63 BC. However, reckoning by 64 BC would also produce a reasonable date falling within the initial part of Elagabalus' reign (May - autumn AD 218).

63. W. Kubitschek, “Die Ären von Medaba und von Gerasa”, *MGGW* 43 (1900), pp. 368-73; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 364; Ch. Ch. McCown, “The Calendar and Era of Gerasa”, *TAPhA* 64 (1933), pp. 77-78; Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 358; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 215.

64. J. Germer-Durand, “Nouvelle exploration épigraphique de Gerasa”, *RB* 8 (1899), pp. 5-7, no. 1.

65. Kubitschek (supra note 63), p. 370; Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 362-63; McCown (supra note 63), p. 79; Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 152-53, no. 359.

66. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, “L'ère d'Actium en Phénicie”, *RAO* II (1898), pp. 298-99, § 68: Ἐτους κγ' νίκης Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀκτιακῆς, Θάμος Ἀβδουσίρου ἀνέθηκεν Σατράπη θεῷ, ἐκ τῶν ιδίων.

67. *OGIS*, vol. 2, pp. 316-17, no. 621.

68. See supra note 65.

69. McCown (supra note 63), p. 79; Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 152-53, no. 359.

Allen's persuasion that the person named in another inscription (no. 33) was to be identified with the emperor Commodus, made him shift the epoch of the Gerasene era to AD 44.<sup>70</sup> Schwartz, convinced that the beginning of the era was 63 BC, restored the name of Trajan's father, L. Ceionius Commodus, who was governor in Syria in AD 76/77.<sup>71</sup> This governor's career happily agrees with the converted Gerasene date. Finally, dates of other Gerasene inscriptions were wrongly reckoned on the basis of the Seleucid era or the era of provincia Arabia (to whose jurisdiction Gerasa belonged after AD 112)<sup>72</sup> in an attempt to reconcile the resulting date with palaeographic criteria.

The era of Gerasa is almost exclusively used in the Greek inscriptions of the city until at least AD 611, the date of the latest dated Greek inscription. The only exception to the rule is a small number of inscriptions dated by regnal years of emperors. The scanty dated Latin inscriptions do not use the city era.<sup>73</sup>

**Calendar:** No evidence is available regarding the nature of the calendar initially combined with the Gerasene era. Based on analogy one could accept a lunisolar calendar with an intercalary month like the Seleucid.

The discussion on the character of the Gerasene calendar after the Julian reform is also to a certain extent a guesswork. It is assumed that the existing lunisolar calendar was radically affected by the Julian one and accepted its structure since Gerasa was superficially influenced by Semites or Egyptians.<sup>74</sup>

Information concerning the reformed calendar used in Gerasa is obtained from the Greek inscriptions found in the city. In particular seven inscriptions (nos. 69, 70, 73, 82, 86, 87, 88) and three sixth century AD mosaic pavements supply more elucidating evidence. The months in the six earlier inscriptions and in the heavily damaged mosaics bear Macedonian names. The month of the latest inscription (AD 611, no. 88) is styled according to the Julian fashion. Julian month names are also used in two building inscriptions (nos. 80, 81) of AD 533 and 535, but later there is a return to Macedonian nomenclature which is retained until the late sixth century AD (no. 87).

The building inscription no. 69 is not without problems. The two crucial letters (ΚΛ) preceding the ordinal naming the relevant indiction ("δεκάτης") are either attached to this word – thus augmenting the indiction year by one number (<έν> δεκάτης) – or considered an abbreviation of "καί" or a cardinal numeral specifying the month day (κγ' or κς'). Most of the readings show that the numeral interpretation is more plausible. Having accepted the numeral alternative, the chronological data of the inscription place Gorpaios in the early part of the Gerasene year. This fact, in its turn, rejects Schwartz's suggestion that Gerasa employed the Antiochene calendar,<sup>75</sup> for in the latter Hyperberetaios, the immediate successor of Gorpaios, opens the calendaric year. Inscription nos. 70, 73, 82 indicate that Dios is also to be found in the early part of the Gerasene year. The latter started certainly after 1 September, as inscription no. 88 irrefutably necessitates.

70. F.D. Allen, "Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Palestine", *AJPh* 6 (1885), pp. 192-93.

71. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 363.

72. Gatier (supra note 62), p. 159 and note 2.

73. McCown (supra note 63), p. 80.

74. Ibid., p. 84.

75. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 364; Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 358.

McCown,<sup>76</sup> who made brilliant combinations in his attempt to elucidate the calendar of Gerasa, considered 23, 24 September or 1 October as very probable dates for beginning the Gerasene year. But, in view of a calendar completely assimilated into the Julian one long before the fifth century AD, one would tend to accept Julianized Macedonian months equal to the Roman ones. Consequently, 1 October seems a more reasonable New Year's day. The beginning of the Gerasene year in October would be in compliance with the Macedonian calendaric custom which must have been especially respected in Gerasa, as is implied by the unique use of the pure Macedonian month names “Ξανδικός” (nos. 61, 62, 68) instead of the more common “Ξανθικός” and “Αὐδναῖος” (no. 86) instead of “Αὐδυναῖος”. In this case October would correspond to Gorpaios, which turns out to be the earliest month belonging to the first part of the Gerasene year, provided that the information of inscription no. 69 is reliable.

Gorpaios' candidature as the first month of the year is further strengthened by the arrangement of the Macedonian month personifications in the mosaic pavement of the church of Elias, Mary and Soreg at Gerasa.<sup>77</sup> There Gorpaios opens the series of the months. Unfortunately, the comparison between this month representation and the two mosaic sets portraying Julian months in Scythopolis (Beth Shean) cannot offer decisive help regarding the relation of the Macedonian to the Julian months due to their iconographic inconsistencies.<sup>78</sup> That the arrangement of the months of this Gerasene church should be used with caution in discussing the calendar is further indicated by the mosaics of the Cathedral and the Church of Saint John the Baptist also at Gerasa.<sup>79</sup> In these representations the Macedonian months are ordered according to the traditional Macedonian sequence, but the first month of the series is Audynaos (according to seasons or mere equivalence to the Roman calendar?).<sup>80</sup> But as inscription nos. 86, 87 clearly demonstrate the Roman start of the year had not been accepted until at least AD 584.

In the present state of knowledge the certain issues concerning the calendar of Gerasa are: a) its start after 1 September, b) the unchallenged Macedonian month nomenclature and order until the first third of the sixth century AD, as well as the occasional use of its Julian counterpart afterwards, and c) the continuous forward count of the month days (α'-λ').<sup>81</sup>

**The inscriptions:** The dates of the Gerasene inscriptions range from the first to the seventh centuries AD. The first three as well as the fifth and sixth centuries are represented by a large number of inscriptions, while the fourth century is lacking any epigraphical testimony. As mentioned above, only one inscription belongs to the seventh century AD. A mid-fifth century inscription (no. 71) expressly states that the era in use is a city era. It should be stressed, however, that this expression (“ἐν ἔτει τῆς πόλεως”) designates later introduced city eras, commemorating imperial largesse in cities of Arabia (see chapter on Other City Eras).

The various dated texts, spread almost uniformly in the six hundred years of the

76. McCown (supra note 63), pp. 77-88.

77. S.J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayyat)*, (Publs. SBF 7, Jerusalem 1949), pp. 274-78, 284-85 and 288-89.

78. Ibid., pp. 284-85.

79. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 475, no. 295 and p. 480, no. 307.

80. Samuel, *GRC*, p. 180.

81. Ibid., pp. 180-81.

era's use, offer an extensive range for the study of the typology of the dating formulae. The dating unit in the examples until the end of the first century AD is confined to the year numeral after the genitive "ἔτους". The abbreviation L, standing for the word "λυκάβας" (year) and encountered in the papyri and coinage of Egypt<sup>82</sup> as well as in Decapoltan numismatic finds,<sup>83</sup> is attested in a few first and early second centuries AD inscriptions from Gerasa (nos. 23, 25, 30, 31, 38, 41) too. This scribal quirk is also met in one contemporary inscription from Souf (no. 89), a site within Gerasene territory, and two from Tafas (nos. 4 and 6) dated in the first and third centuries, respectively. During this period the date is to be found on the very top of the text or after the acclamation "ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ" or, rarely, in the middle of the text connected with the time of the office of the person involved.

In AD 93 (no. 39) reference to the month is added through a plain genitive without indication of the month day. This practice deserves a further note: while the month day usually accompanies the name of the month until the end of the third century AD, the Byzantine period from the fifth century onwards must have considered it optional or unnecessary (nos. 70, 73, 74, 77, 79-87). An inscription of AD 107 (no. 41) shows that the dating formula, consisting of the Gerasene year and the month reference, has moved to the bottom of the text. Between this date and AD 447 (inscr. no. 70) when the date takes its permanent place at the bottom of the inscription, the dating formula moves continuously from the bottom to the top and vice-versa. From mid-fifth century to beginning of the seventh century AD only one inscription (no. 79) shows a deviation by having the date after the introductory phrase on the top of the inscription. The inscription of AD 447 also shows a change in the introductory phrase for the year numeral. From now on the dative "τῷ ... ἔτει", "ἐν ἔτει ..." becomes more common than the genitive form "τοῦ ἔτους ...".

Owing to the fact that no fourth century AD inscriptions from Gerasa are preserved so far, the first evidence for the use of the indiction year is furnished by mid-fifth century inscriptions. With very few exceptions all the examples hereafter bear references to the equivalent indiction years. The date by indiction normally closes the dating formula, preceded almost always by the expression "ἐν χρόνοις" or "χρόνων".

The year numerals are rendered by Greek letters in ascending order. Even in full, the ordinals follow the reversed pattern: units, tens, hundreds (nos. 38, 61). The month days either in Greek numerals or in ordinals (no. 67) are also reversed except for one example (no. 64) which has the month day in descending order and the year in ascending. The indiction year is denoted by Greek numerals or by ordinals. In four instances (nos. 78, 84, 86, 88) in which the indiction year has two characters, these are not reversed, although the year numeral is.

Two inscriptions (nos. 35 and 73) bear double dating according to the local era. The first inscription has one year numeral (Ger.E. 142 = AD 79/80) after the acclamation "ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ" and the genitive "ἔτους" and another year numeral (132 Ger. E. = AD 69/70) at the bottom of the text. The case is rather problematic: the first line with the date—which is typical for the period—is written in smaller characters of the same alphabet as the rest of the text (as if it were an afterthought) but not necessarily a later addition),<sup>84</sup> the second date is peculiar enough, for its numeral is ten years

82. A. H. M. Jones, "Inscriptions from Jerash", *JRS* 18 (1928), p. 144.

83. Spijkerman, *Coins*, passim.

84. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 389, no. 28.

earlier than this of the first line, appears at the bottom and is preceded by the dative form “ἐν τῷ ... ἔτει” which substitutes the genitive form as already observed only from AD 447 onwards. Welles<sup>85</sup> combined the second (earlier) date with the “λάκκον” and interpreted it as “a reference to their earlier act of piety”. The second inscription uses two dates (month and indiction year) in order to commemorate the inauguration of a martyrion and the building progress up to the height of the lintel. In this case the year numeral is combined with the later indiction reference, while the earlier dating formula lacks any year recording.

It is noteworthy that the texts of the dated inscriptions concern activities related only to the public life of the city. During the pagan period (until the third century AD, no. 68) they mention dedications on altars, statues, buildings. In the Christian times they continue to report erection or mosaic elaborations of churches, stoas, martyrion, baths, prisons. No Greek burial inscription from Gerasa is dated. In fact, the majority of this group is written in the form of the Classical funerary epigrams.<sup>86</sup>

The continuous and exclusive use of the Gerasene era from the time of its introduction down to the years of the Muslim occupation despite the conversion of Gerasa to Christianity, witnesses the city's devotion to Greek tradition and pride in its past.

23. *GERASA* lead weight  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 461-62, no. 251.

Λ ο γ' .  
Ἀντιοχέων  
τῶν  
πρὸς Χρυσ(ορόφ),  
5 ἐπὶ  
Μενοδώρου,  
ὄγδουν.

Date: 73 Ger.E. = Fall AD 10 – fall AD 11.

24. *GERASA* block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 373-74, no. 2; *SEG* 35 (1985), p. 450, no. 1568.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ,  
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σω-  
τηρίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου ὁμ-  
ονοίας, Ζαβδίων Ἀριστομάχου  
5 ιερασάμενος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος,  
το < ὕ > ἐπ' ἔτους, ἐπέδωκεν ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ιερ-  
οῦ δραχμὰς χιλίας, εὐσεβείας  
ἔνεκεν.

85. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 389, no. 28.

86. Ibid., pp. 451-58.

**Date:** 85 (or 88) Ger.E. = Fall AD 22 (or 25) – fall AD 23 (or 26).

*Comments:* After rechecking the stone J. Seigne, *Syria* 62 (1985), p. 292, note 17, reads “sous toute réserve” the date in line 6 as ηπ’ instead of επ’, i.e. AD 25-26 instead of AD 22-23.

25. *GERASA* keystone of arched vault  
Bibl. *SEG* 35 (1985), pp. 450-51, no. 1569.

Λ ζ´.  
Διόδωρος  
Ζεβσάου,  
Γερα < σ > ηνός,  
5 ἀρχιτεκτόνη-  
σεν.

**Date:** 90 Ger.E. = Fall AD 27 – fall AD 28.

26. *GERASA* block with moulding  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 374-75, no. 3.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη.  
Ἵπέρ [τῆς τοῦ] Σεβαστοῦ σωτηρίας  
καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος οἴκου καὶ [τῆς] τοῦ δήμου  
ὁμονοίας, Ἀριστονᾶς Ἀριστο[μά]χου  
5 γυμνασιαρχή[σ]α[ς] τὴν πρώτην ἐξάμηνον  
[τ]οῦ δρ´ καὶ παρασχόμενος τῇ πόλει  
[τ]ὰ ἀλείμματα, ἔδωκεν καὶ εἰς τὴν  
οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ [ε]ρ[ο]ῦ Δι[ὸ]ς Ὀλυμπίου  
[ἐκ] τῶν ιδίων ἀργυρί[ο]υ Τ[υ]ρίου  
10 [δ]ραχμὰς χειλίας πεντα[κο]σίας,  
εὖσε[β]είας ἔνεκεν.

**Date:** After the first half of 104 Ger.E. = Spring AD 42 or later.

*Comments:* Since we accept that the Gerasene year started around October, then the period after the first half of 104 Ger.E. must have started in spring AD 42. The setting up of the inscription should, of course, be placed later than this date.

27. *GERASA* slab (?)  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 375, no. 4.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη.  
Ἵπέρ τῆς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ σω[τ]η[ρ]ί[ας]  
καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος οἴκου καὶ τῆς  
τοῦ δήμου ὁμονοίας, Ἀθηνίων Ἀθη-  
5 νίωνος τοῦ Λο[ύ]που, [γ]υμνασιαρχή-  
σας τὴν πρώτην ἐξάμηνον τοῦ ερ´  
[καὶ] παρ[α]σχόμενος τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀλείμ[α]-  
τα, ἔδωκεν [καὶ] εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομ[ή]ν το[ῦ] [ε]ρ-



- [ροῦ Δι]ός 'Ο[λυμπίου ἐκ τ]ῶν ἰ[δίων ἀργυ]-  
 10 [ρίου Τυ]ρίου δρ[αχμᾶς χειλ]ί[ας πεντα-  
 |κοσ]ία[ς, εὐσεβεί]ας ἔνεκεν.

**Date:** After the first half of 105 Ger.E. = Spring AD 43 or later.

28. *GERASA* block  
 Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 395-96, no. 45.

[Ἀγαθ]ῇ τύχ[η]. Ἔτους θκρ´.  
 [Ὶπὲρ τῆς Σεβαστῆς Εἰρήν[ης],  
 [ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀπολλωνί]ου  
 [Ἦφαι < σ > τίωνος, προέδρου καὶ  
 5 [....]ΟΥ Δημητρίου, δεκαπρ[ώτου]  
 [διὰ β]ίου πόλεως καὶ Ἀντιόχ[ου]  
 [Ἀρίστ]ωνος, ἀρχόντων καὶ Ξέρ-  
 [ξου Χ]αιρέου, γραμματέ[ως] ---

**Date:** 129 Ger.E. = Fall AD 66 – fall AD 67.

*Comments:* For the expression [ὑπὲρ τῆς Σεβαστῆς Εἰρήν[ης]] and its wrong connection with the era of Actium see text above, p. 89.

29. *GERASA* three fragments of a moulded block  
 Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 396, no. 46.

[Ἀγαθ]ῇ τύχη. Ἔτους θκρ´. Ὶπὲρ  
 [τῆς Σεβ]αστῆς Εἰρήνης, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχ-  
 [ῆς Ἀπολλ]ωνίου Ἦφαι < σ > τίωνος, προέδρου  
 [καὶ ....]. ΟΥ Δημητρίου, δεκαπρώτου  
 5 [.... πόλε]ως καὶ Ἀντιόχου Ἀρίστωνος,  
 [ἀρχόντω]ν καὶ Ξέρξου Χαιρέου, γραμ-  
 μα[τέως β]ουλῆς καὶ δήμου ἐκτίσ-  
 θη [.....]ΟΣ ἐκ τῶν τῆς πόλεως,  
 διὰ ἐπιμ[ε]λητῶν Μελίτωνος Ἀπολλω-  
 10 νίδου τοῦ καὶ Νικάνορος καὶ Τιμάρχου  
 τοῦ Λυσιμάχου.

**Date:** 129 Ger.E. = Fall AD 66 – fall AD 67.

30. *GERASA* lintel blocks  
 Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 397, no. 49.

<sup>B</sup>  
 Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. L λρ´.

<sup>A</sup>  
 Ὶπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρ[ί]ας, Σαραπίων Ἀπολλωνίου

<sup>C</sup>  
 τοῦ Δη[μ]ητρίου, ἱερῶμενος Νέρωνος]  
 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος, ἔδωκεν ε[ἰ]ς οἰκοδομὴν ἀνδρῶνος καὶ  
 θύρας[--- δ]ραχμᾶς]  
 τετρακοσ[σ]ίας v. | v. v. εὐσεβείας χάριν. vacat

**Date:** 130 Ger.E. = Fall AD 67 – fall AD 68.

31. *GERASA* slab in two parts  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 375-76, no. 5.

<sup>A</sup> Ἀγαθὴ τύχη. L βλρ'. Ὑπὲρ τῆς <sup>B</sup> τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας  
καὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου ὁμονοίας, ἀργυρί|ου Τυρίου δραχμᾶς ἑπτακισ-  
χιλίας ἑκατὸν ἔδωκεν Θεῶν Δημητρί|ου εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ναοῦ  
Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου, οὗ ἔστιν ἱκέτης, ὑ|πέρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ ..  
5 Διὸς ἱεροδούλων, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Θεῶνος τέκνων, Σκύμνου καὶ  
Ἀρτεμιδώρου καὶ Ἀρτεμισίας, προδ|εδωκὼς εἰς τὴν τοῦ προπύλ[ο]υ  
οἰκοδομὴν ἄλλας δραχμᾶς χιλία|ς πεντακοσίας.

Date: 132 Ger.E. = Fall AD 69 – fall AD 70.

Comments: Germer-Durand (*RB* 8 [1899], p. 11, no. 8) read the year numeral as ρλε' (135) and by converting it according to the Actian era arrived at the date AD 105.

32. *GERASA* two architrave blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 383-84, no. 17.

<sup>B</sup> Ἀγαθὴ τύχη(ι). Ἔτους ζλρ'.  
<sup>A</sup> Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας, | <sup>B</sup> Ἀμειρος Παγέλου {ι}, ἀρχι-  
<sup>C</sup> βωμιστῆ|ς θεοῦ ἀγ|ίου Πακειδᾶ καὶ Ἦρας, ΣΥ [- -]  
| ὑπὲρ ----- | τῆς ἰδίας γυναικῶς εἰς τὴν  
κτίσιν | τῆς οἰκοδ|ομῆς ἱεροῦ θεᾶς Ἦρας Ε[- -]  
[- ----- -], εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν,  
δραχ(μᾶς) ἐπ|τ|ακ|οσίας{ι}.

Date: 136 Ger.E. = Fall AD 73 – fall AD 74.

33. *GERASA* keyed limestone voussoir blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 397-98, no. 50.

<sup>A</sup> <sup>B</sup> <sup>C</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>E</sup> <sup>F</sup> <sup>G</sup> <sup>H</sup> <sup>I</sup>  
[Ἐ]|τους η|λρ'. Ὑπ[ἐ]|ρ τῆς τῶν Σ|εβασ|τῶν α|ωτηρίας ca.15.]  
[.] PAIANH|Σ τῇ|ν ι|ερὰν πύλη|ν οἱ τ|ῆ|ς Ἀρ|τέμιδος ca.15.]  
[ἐκ τ|ῶν ἰδίω|ν ἀν|έ|θηκαν κα|τ'] εὐ|χὴν ca.28.]  
[ἐπὶ Λ(ουκίου) Κ|ειωνίου Κ|ομμ|όδ|ου, πρξ|[σβεντοῦ Σεβαστ|οῦ ἀντ|ι-  
στρατήγου].

Date: 138 Ger.E. = Fall AD 75 – fall AD 76.

Comments: About the legate of Syria Lucius Ceionius Commodus and its confusion with the emperor Commodus, which resulted in a shift of the epoch of the Gerasene era to AD 44 see text above, p. 90.

34. *GERASA* block with recessed panel surrounded by a moulding  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 378-79, no. 8.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη.  
ἔτους θλρ´.  
Ἀγαθοκλήης  
Ἀνίνου ἐποί-  
5 ησεν ἐαντ-  
ῶ κοκάριον  
ἐκ τῶν ιδίω-  
ν, κατ' ἐρχ[ήν].

Date: 139 Ger.E. = Fall AD 76 – fall AD 77.

35. *GERASA* moulded block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 389, no. 28.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. ἔτους βμρ´.  
Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σω-  
τηρίας, Ἀρτέμιδι κυρίᾳ τὴν  
στοὰν ἐπύησαν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων  
5 οἱ σεβόμενοι καὶ τὸν λάκκον,  
ἐν τῷ βλρ´ ἔτει. Ϛ

Date: 142 Ger.E. = Fall AD 79 – fall AD 80.

132 Ger.E. = Fall AD 69 – Fall AD 70.

*Comments:* For the double date of this inscription see the relevant discussion in the text above, pp. 92-93.

36. *GERASA* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 27 (1977), p. 265, no. 1009.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη· ἔτους γνρ´.  
Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι, θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ  
[[υῖῶ Δομετιανῶ Σ]]εβαστῶ, Γερμανικῶ,  
ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας,  
5 πατρὶ πατρίδος, τὸ θέατρον ἀφιερῶθη,  
κατ' ἐπὶ κριμα Λαππίου Μαξίμου, πρεσ-  
βευτοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου.

Date: 153 Ger.E. = Fall AD 90 – fall AD 91.

37. *GERASA* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 27 (1977), pp. 265-66, no. 1010.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη· ἔτους δνρ´.  
Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι, θεοῦ Οὐεσ-  
πασιανοῦ [[υῖῶ Δομετιανῶ Σ]]ε-  
βαστῶ, Γερμανικῶ, ἀρχιερεῖ  
5 μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου-  
σίας, πατρὶ πατρίδος vacat.

Date: 154 Ger.E. = Fall AD 91 – fall AD 92.

38. *GERASA* rectangular slab  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 417, no. 116.

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη.  
 Λ πέμτου πεν-  
 τηκοστοῦ ἑκα-  
 τοστοῦ Νικόμα-  
 5 χος Ἀπολλωνίου  
 ἐπόησεν, εὐσεβείας  
 χάριν.

**Date:** 155 Ger.E. = Fall AD 92 – fall AD 93.

39. *GERASA* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 27 (1977), p. 266, no. 1010 bis.

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη.  
 Ἔτους ενρ', Πανήμου·  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρος  
 [[---]] Καίσαρος  
 5 Σεβαστοῦ, Γερμανικοῦ  
 σωτηρίας.

**Date:** Panemos 155 Ger.E. = Summer AD 93.

*Comments:* Pouilloux (*LA* 29 [1979], pp. 276-77) converted wrongly the Gerasene year numeral by placing it in the year AD 92 instead of AD 93.

40. *GERASA* altar  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 389-90, no. 29.

Ἔτους ξρ', Ἀρτεμισίου ακ'. (on fascia)  
 Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν (on die)  
 σωτηρίας, Διογένης Λεω-  
 νίδου Ἀρτέμιδι κυρία τὸν  
 βωμόν, εὐσεβείας καὶ χρη-  
 5 σμοῦ ἔνεκεν. Διογένης  
 Λεωνίδου τοῦ Μάλχου.

**Date:** 21 Artemisios 160 Ger.E. = Late spring – early summer AD 98.

41. *GERASA* fragment of a rectangular block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 438, no. 181.

-- |α βουλῆς καὶ δήμο|υ --  
 -- | τὸν υἱὸν Κλαυδιανὸς Οὐ| ---  
 -- | Λ ορ', Δίου.

**Date:** Dios 170 Ger.E. = Late fall – early winter AD 107.

*Comments:* In the conversion of the Gerasene era into Christian date it is inadvertently written by Welles AD 117 instead of AD 107.

42. *GERASA* pedestal  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 418, no. 119.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σω-  
τηρίας, Τίτος Φλαούιος Φλαουῖου  
Κεριαλίου υἱὸς Κυρίνα Φλάκκος τῇ  
κυρίᾳ πατρίδι ἀνέθηκεν.

5 [Ἔτους] ηορ'.

**Date:** 178 Ger.E. = Fall AD 115 – fall AD 116.

43. *GERASA* upper right corner of a moulded block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 418, no. 120.

[Ἀγαθ]ῇ τύχῃ. Ἔτους ηορ'.  
[Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας  
[----- ἐξ] ὁμολογίας  
[----- ἀνέθ]ηκεν.

**Date:** 178 Ger.E. = Fall AD 115 – fall AD 116.

44. *GERASA* moulded block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 399-400, no. 53.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἔτους βπρ'. Ὑ[πὲρ]  
τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας,  
Διογένης Ἐμμεγάνου, ἱερασάμενος  
τῶν τεσσάρων ἐπαρχειῶν, ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ  
5 τῇ μητροπόλει ἄγαλμα Δικαιοσύνης  
ὑπὲρ Εὐμένους τοῦ υἱοῦ τῇ πατρίδι  
ἀνέθηκεν, ὃ ἐπηγγελάτο, ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
Εὐμένους ἀγορανομοῦντος.

**Date:** 182 Ger.E. = Fall AD 119 – fall AD 120.

45. *GERASA* two moulded slabs  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 415, no. 108.

[---- σὺν]  
τῷ κόσμῳ κατ' εὐχὴν ἐ-  
κ τῶν ιδίων ἐποίησεν.  
Ἔτους λρ'.

**Date:** 190 Ger.E. = Fall AD 127 – fall AD 128.

46. *GERASA*  
See T.P. no. 3.

47. *GERASA* moulded slab  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 388-89, no. 27.

[Ἔτους]ς [·.·]ρ´. Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβασ-  
[τῶν] σωτηρίας, θεῶ πατρῶα Ἀρ[τέ]-  
[μιδι] Ἀ[λέ]ξανδρος Ἀπολλᾶ τοῦ Ἀλ[ε]-  
[ξάν]δρου τὸν ἀπύρου λίθου τόπον?  
5 [σ]ὺν τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ θυρώμασι ἐκ [τῶν]  
[ιδίω]ν ἐποίησεν, κατ' εὐχῇ[ν.....]  
[·]ρ. ἐν ἡν ὑπὲρ Μαρει[.....]  
ΟΤΕΕΖΖΗ καὶ εὐσεβε[ίας χάριν].

**Date:** 1[11] – 1[99] Ger.E. = Fall AD 48 – fall AD 137.

*Comments:* Because the tens and units figures of the year numeral are missing, the year could be restored at the minimum ρια´ and at the maximum ρϛθ´. Thus the date converted into Christian chronology would range between AD 48/49 and AD 136/7. Welles noted that “the letter before the ρ in the date ended in a vertical hasta”, so he suggested that an ι, μ, ν or π be restored.

48. *GERASA* seven blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 382-83, no. 15.

<sup>A</sup> Ὑπὲρ <sup>B</sup> σωτ[ηρι]ῶν <sup>C</sup> τῶν Κυρίω|ν <sup>D</sup> Αὐτοκράτ[ορ]ϛς <sup>E</sup> Καίσαρος  
Τ(ίτου) Αἰλίου <sup>F</sup> Ἀν[δρι]ανου <sup>G</sup> Ἀντ[ωνεῖνου] Εὐ[σεβ]οῦς Σεβαστ[οῦ]  
καὶ τέκνω|ν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ|μονοίας καὶ εἰς|δαιμονίας βουλῆς  
[κ]α|ὶ δήμου τῆς κ[υρίας] πατ[ρ]ίδος,  
Διὸς Ἡλίου μ[εγάλου] Σαρά|πιδος καὶ Ἰσ[ίδος] καὶ Νεωτέρως,  
τῶ|ν συννάων θ[εῶν], Μάχου|ς Δημητρίου  
τοῦ Μάχου|ν τῇ κυρίᾳ | πατρίδι ἐξ ἐ|πανγγελίας αὐτοῦ τὰ  
ἀγάλματα ἀν[έθηκεν] σὺν|ν κρηπιδώματι|  
5 καὶ βάσεσιν αὐτ[ῶν], ἔτους ες´, Ξαν[δικου] βκ´, ἀφιερωθῆ|ντα·  
ἱερωμένον πρώτως καὶ προ|βαίνοντος τοῦ Μάχου|,  
ἐ|πι Αἰμιλίου Κάρου, πρεσβ[ευτοῦ]| Σεβασ[τοῦ]  
ἀντ[ιστ]ρατή|γου.

**Date:** 22 Xanthikos 205 Ger.E. = Spring AD 143.

49. *GERASA* altar  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 385-86, no. 21.

Ἔτους βισ´, Δαισίου  
α´. Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν  
Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας,  
θεῶ Ἀραβικῶ ἐπηκόω,  
5 Δημήτριος Μύτο|ν|,  
τοῦ καὶ Νευκομ < α´ > χου,

τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθη-  
κεν.

**Date:** 1 Daisios 212 Ger.E. = Summer AD 150.

50. *GERASA* square altar  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 391, no. 32.

Θεῶ Ἀρτέμιδι,  
Δημήτριος Ἀρισ-  
[τίων]ος καὶ Ϛ  
[....]ΟΝΕΙΣ Ἀρτε-  
5 μιδώρου μήτηρ.  
Ἔτους γισ'.

**Date:** 213 Ger.E. = Fall AD 150 – fall AD 151.

51. *GERASA* two pairs of architrave blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 404, no. 63.

#### South Pair

A (North Block)  
Αἱ κρῆναι ἀφιερῶθησαν  
πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστ-  
ρατήγ(ου) ὑπάτου

B (South Block)  
ἐπὶ Λ(ουκίου) Ἀττιδίου Κορνη[λιανοῦ],  
ἀναδεδειγμένου. Ἔτους γισ', [Δείου ..].

#### North Pair

C (North Block)  
[Α]ἱ κρῆναι ἀφιερῶθησ[αν]  
πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστ-  
ρατήγ(ου) ὑπάτου]

D (South Block)  
ἐπὶ Λ(ουκίου) Ἀττιδίου Κορνηλι[ανοῦ],  
ἀναδεδειγμένου. Ἔτους γισ', Δ[είου ..].

**Date:** Dios 213 Ger.E. = Late fall – early winter AD 150.

*Comments:* The reference to the Gerasene era year fixes the date of L. Attidius Cornelianus' governorship in Arabia and his designation for a suffect consulship.

52. *GERASA* twelve blocks of tympanum with a boss in the centre  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 402-403, no. 60.

E F G H  
Ἐπεὶ τῆς Αὐτ[οκράτο]ρος .  
E F G H  
Καίσαρος | Τ(ίτου) Αἰλίου Ἀδρι[αν]οῦ  
D E F G  
Ἀντωνεῖ[ν]ου Σεβ(αστοῦ) Εὐσεβ(οῦς), | π(ατρός) | π(ατρίδος)  
H I  
καὶ Αὐρ[ηλίου] Κα[ρί]ου

<sup>C</sup> |υ|ιού <sup>D</sup> αὐ|τοῦ <sup>E</sup> καὶ <sup>F</sup> τῶν |<sup>G</sup> [ἄ]λλων <sup>H</sup> τέκνων |<sup>I</sup> ν <sup>I</sup> καὶ τοῦ σ|ύνπαντο|ς οἴκου  
<sup>K</sup>  
 σω|τηρίας  
 5 <sup>B</sup> καὶ <sup>C</sup> κρά|<sup>D</sup> [τ]ους <sup>E</sup> αὐ|τοῦ <sup>F</sup> καὶ <sup>G</sup> ἱερᾶς |<sup>H</sup> σ|υνκλητῶν <sup>I</sup> κ|αὶ <sup>I</sup> δήμο|ν <sup>H</sup> Ῥωμαι|ων, ἡ  
<sup>K</sup>  
 πό|λις  
<sup>D</sup> τὸ <sup>E</sup> προπύλ|<sup>G</sup> [α]ιον <sup>H</sup> σὺν <sup>I</sup> τῇ |<sup>I</sup> στοᾷ <sup>I</sup> ἀφιέρω|<sup>I</sup> σεν,  
<sup>A</sup> <sup>B</sup> ἐπ|<sup>C</sup> ἰ <sup>D</sup> Λ(ουκίου) <sup>E</sup> Ἀττι|<sup>F</sup> [δ]ίου <sup>G</sup> Κ|<sup>H</sup> ὀρνηλι|<sup>I</sup> [α]νοῦ <sup>I</sup> πρεσ|<sup>F</sup> [β(ευτοῦ)]| <sup>F</sup> Σεβ(αστοῦ)  
<sup>G</sup> ἀ|<sup>H</sup> ντιστρ(ατήγου), <sup>I</sup> |<sup>K</sup> ὑπάτ|<sup>L</sup> ου <sup>M</sup> ἀνα|<sup>L</sup> δε|<sup>M</sup> δειγ|<sup>L</sup> μέν|<sup>M</sup> ου.  
<sup>E</sup> Ἔτους <sup>F</sup> γισ', <sup>G</sup> Δεῖ|<sup>G</sup> ου <sup>G</sup> δκ'.

**Date:** 24 Dios 213 Ger.E. = Late fall – early winter AD 150.

53. *GERASA* moulded block  
 Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 400, no. 54.

[Ἀγ]αθὴ τύχη. Ἔτους ςισ' [...]|ου βί'.  
 Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σ-  
 ωτηρίας, ἐγ διαθήκης Ἀθηνί-  
 ωνος Δημητρίου, Δημήτρ-  
 5 ιος καὶ Μαλχαῖος καὶ Μάρσος,  
 ἐπίτροποι τέκνων Ζεβέδ-  
 ου ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν, κληρον-  
 ομου Ἀθηνίωνος, τῇ πατρίδι ἀνέθηκαν.

**Date:** 216 Ger.E. = Fall AD 153 – fall AD 154.

54. *GERASA* three blocks  
 Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 386, no. 22.

<sup>A</sup> Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶ|ν Σεβαστῶν <sup>C</sup> σωτ|ηρίας,  
 τὰ ἀγάλματ|α ...ca.9... καὶ θεοῦ  
 Ἀραβικοῦ σὺ|ν βάσεσιν ἐκ διαθήκης  
 Διονυσίου Ζη|νο ...ca.10...|ΑΝΑ Εὐ-  
 5 φάνους ΚΛΗ|...ca.12...|ωνος  
 υἱοῦ αὐτῶν, [ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτε]ι ιησ'.

**Date:** 218 Ger.E. = Fall AD 155 – fall AD 156.



55. *GERASA* base  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 394, no. 43.

[Θ]εῷ Λακα[ίνη],  
ἐπηκόφ 'Αρτ[έ]-  
μιδι, Φλ(αούιος) Κερσί-  
λοχος εὐσεβῶν.  
5 [('Ετους)] θ[ι]ς', 'Απελλα[ί]ου . ].

Date: Apellaios 219 (?) Ger.E. = Winter AD 156 (?).

56. *GERASA* altar  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 419, no. 124.

'Ετους κς', Λφου πρώτ[η]. (on corona)  
'Αγαθῇ τύ- (on die)  
χη. Χάριν εὐ-  
σεβείας ἀ-  
νέθηκεν  
Παρθένιος  
Εὐτύχου.

Date: 1 Loos 220 Ger.E. = Late summer – early fall AD 158.

57. *GERASA* altar  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 387, no. 24.

[Ε]τους βς'. (on corona)  
'Αγαθῇ τύχη. (on congé)  
'Υπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σε- (on die)  
β[ας]τῶν σωτη-  
5 ρίας, θε[ῶ] Φύρα-  
νία [..]ΝΚ[.]ΙΙΛΛΟ  
. ΛΛΕΙΟΥ, Μ(ἄρκος) Οὐλ-  
πιος Τιβερεῖνο[ς],  
κατ' εὐχὴν.

Date: 222 Ger.E. = Fall AD 159 – fall AD 160.

58. *GERASA* broken architrave blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 380, no. 11.

<sup>A</sup> | Αγαθῇ τύχη. <sup>B</sup> 'Υ| <sup>C</sup> ἐρ τῇ[ς] τῶν Σ| <sup>E</sup> εβ(αστῶν) σωτηρίας  
καὶ αἰ| <sup>D</sup> [ωνίου διαμονῆς 'Α| <sup>E</sup> ντωνίνου καὶ  
Οὐήρου <sup>F</sup> [Αὐτοκρατ| <sup>F</sup> ὄρων [καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος|]

<sup>G</sup>  
 D οἴκου αὐτῶν ἀφιερώθη, ἐπ[ι Γ]ε[μινίου]  
 [Μαρκιανοῦ], | πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρ(ατήγου),  
 ἔτους ξκς', Λφου ε[?].

**Date:** Loos 225 Ger.E. = Late summer – early fall AD 163.

*Comments:* For the career of P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus see civilian consulship no. 34.

59. *GERASA* fragment of a round pedestal  
 Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 426, no. 147.

– πόλεως] Ἀντιοχέωγ | – –  
 – πρό]τερον Γερασ[ι]νῶν,  
 ε]ὐσεβείας χάριν. Ἐτους βμ[σ].

**Date:** 242 Ger.E. = Fall AD 179 – fall AD 180.

60. *GERASA* block  
 Bibl. *SEG* 32 (1982), pp. 423-24, no. 1537.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυρίου  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου  
 Κομόδου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ κυρίου Αὐ-  
 τοκράτορος, τὸ ἄγαλμα σὺν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐγέ-  
 5 νετο, ἐξ ἀπολείψεως (δηναρίων) ὀκτακοσίων  
 Φλ(αουῖου) Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ καὶ Λιβεραλίου, καὶ προσφιλο-  
 τιμησαμένου Φλ(αουῖου) Κερεαλίου, τοῦ καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ υἱοῦ,  
 (δηνάρια) διακόσια εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν, τῷ ζμς', Ὑπερβερετ(αίου) ε'.

**Date:** 5 Hyperberetaios 247 Ger.E. = Fall AD 184.

61. *GERASA*  
 See R.Y. no. 90.

62. *GERASA* rectangular pedestal  
 Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 421, no. 130.

ΟΙ[ca. 6.]ΝΕΙ  
 ΜΑ[... ]ΚΑ[..  
 ΜΑΡΤΑΙΝΗ[..  
 τους Δ[ca. 4.]ΟΥ  
 5 σὺν τοῖς λαμ-  
 παδηφόροις Γγ-  
 αῖος Ἀννιανὸς εὐ-  
 σεβῶν ἀνέθηκεν.  
 Ἐτους θξς',  
 10 Ξανδικοῦ ηι'.

**Date:** 18 Xanthikos 269 Ger.E. = Spring AD 207.

63. *GERASA* altar  
Bibl. P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 62 (1985), pp. 308-310, no. 2.

a) [Υπερ σωτηρία]ς τῶ[ν]  
b) [Σε]βα[στῶν]  
c) [Κυρίων]  
a) Σεπτιμί/ου Σεουή/ρου  
b) καὶ Αὐρη/λίου Ἀν/τωνεί/νου  
c) καὶ Ἰουλί/ας Δό/μνης  
d) [καὶ Σεπτιμίου Γέτα],  
a) τὸν βωμὸν ἀν/ήγειραν καὶ τὸ  
κλῖτος περιέλαβαν οἱ ἄ/πὸ συστέματος ἀρτεμει/σιακοῦ μεγάλου ἐπι-  
b) καλουμένου τῶν γνα/φέων, πηχθέντος ὑπὸ  
c) Ζήνωνος Ἀρίστων[ος],/ (ὁ) βωμὸς ἐγένετο ἐκ φι]/λοτειμίας Ζαβδίων  
d) οἰκοδόμου. Ἔτους οσ´,/ Γορπ(ι)αίου η´.

a, b, c, d are the four faces of the rectangular altar

**Date:** 8 Gorpaios 270 Ger.E. = Fall AD 207.

64. *GERASA* block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 440, no. 187.

Λυσᾶν Ζεβεΐνου τοῦ  
Μάλχου, κατὰ δὲ νιοθε-  
σίαν Μάλχου πάππου,  
Μάλχος ὁ καὶ Ζεβεΐνας  
5 Μάλχου ἐξαδέλφου τοῦ  
Λυσᾶ, ἀκολούθως διαθήκαις  
τοῦ Λυσᾶ καὶ Μάλχου πατρὸς  
αὐτοῦ ἀνέστησεν.  
Ἔτους 4σ´, Ἀπελλαίου κγ´.

**Date:** 23 Apellaios 290 Ger.E. = Winter AD 227/8.

65. *GERASA* rectangular pedestal or pier  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 430, no. 157.

<sup>A</sup>  
[Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. Αὐτοκράτ|<sup>B</sup>ορα Καίσαρα Μ(ᾱρκον) [Αὐρήλιον]  
Σεουῆρον [Ἀλέξανδρον]  
Εὐσεβῆν Σεβαστόν| [τῇ πόλιν δι' ἐπιμελητῶν Μάρκων Αὐρ(ηλίων)  
'Αντω|νίου]  
Μάρσου ἱππικοῦ, Κλ|αυδίου Νεικομάχου, Οὐει|ψα|νοῦ Αὔσου,  
καὶ Δικίν[ου Μάρσου],  
'Ιούστου Ἀντωνίου. Ἔτους 84σ´.

**Date:** 294 Ger.E. = Fall AD 231 – fall AD 232.

66. *GERASA* rectangular pedestal or base  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 430, no. 158.

Ἀγα[θῇ τύχη. Ἰουλίαν Μαμαίαν, Σεβαστοῦ μητέρα]  
Σεβαστήν, ἡ πόλις δι' ἐπιμελητῶν Μάρ(κων) Αὐρη[λίων]  
Ἀντωνίου Μάρσου ἱππικοῦ, Κλαυδίου Νεικομά[χου],  
Οὐειπανοῦ Αὐσοῦ, Λικίννου Μάρσου, Ἰούστου Ἀντω[νίου].  
5 Ἔτους δ' ἄσ'.

Date: 294 Ger.E. = Fall AD 231 – fall AD 232.

67. *GERASA* rectangular altar  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 388, no. 26.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. Ἔτους τ' ?]. (on corona)  
Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν (on die)  
σωτηρίας, ν. Διὶ Κρόνῳ καὶ  
[Θ]εῷ Οὐρανίᾳ, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος]  
5 Σόλων Σόλωνος, βουλευτῆς τῶ-  
ν πρώτων, ὑπὲρ Σόλωνος υἱοῦ]  
κατ' εὐχὴν τὸν βωμό[ν] ἀνέθηκ-  
εν, ἔτους τριακοσιοστῷ, Δύσ-  
τρου δευτέρῳ καὶ εἰκάδι.

Date: 22 Dystros 300 Ger.E. = Spring AD 238.

68. *GERASA* moulded slab  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 408-409, no. 74.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. (on moulding)  
Ἔτους ακτ', Ξανδικοῦ γκ'. (on panel)  
Ἐπὶ γραμματίας Μάρωνος  
Ἀββίβου καὶ συναρχίας  
5 αὐτοῦ Γάμου ἄρχον-  
τος καὶ Μαλχαίου καὶ  
διοικητῶν Ἐριννίου  
καὶ Ἀρίστωνος καὶ  
τῶν πέντε Ῥοθίου  
10 κὲ Σαβίνου κὲ Ὀλβανοῦ  
κὲ Ἀμρειλίου κὲ Εὐλα-  
λίου ἀφιερῶθη ἡ στοὰ  
κὲ ὁ ἀχθεὶς βωμός.

Date: 23 Xanthikos 321 Ger.E. = Spring AD 259.

69. *GERASA* pedestal of a pilaster  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 467-69, no. 274.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.  
ἔτους δφ', Γαρπιέου  
κ<ς'>, δεκάτης ἰνδικ(τιῶνος),  
ὁ πύργος ἀνενεώ-  
5 θη ἐκ θεμελίων.

**Date:** 2 <6> Gorpaios 504 Ger.E., 10th ind. = Fall AD 441.

*Comments:* The questions posed by this text about the calendar of Gerasa are discussed in detail by Welles in pp. 468-69 and in the text above, p. 90.

70. *GERASA* block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 469, no. 275.

+ + +  
Σπουδῇ καὶ  
προνοίᾳ Φλ(αουῖου)  
Γαυδεντίου,  
τοῦ ἐλλογ(ιμωτάτου) σχο(λαστικοῦ)  
5 καὶ ἐκδίκου, ἡ στοὰ  
ἐκ θεμελίων ἐκτίσ-  
θη τῷ ιφ' ἔτι, Δίου,  
χρόνων πρῶ-  
της ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος). +

**Date:** Dios 510 Ger.E., 1st ind. = Late fall – early winter AD 447.

71. *GERASA* three architrave blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 475, no. 296.

<sup>A</sup>  
+ Ἐπὶ Πλάκκου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπο|<sup>B</sup>υ, σὺν Θεῷ τόδε  
τὸ βαλανῖον ἐκ θε|<sup>C</sup>μελίων κτισθέν, ἐκοσμήθη ἐν ἔτει +  
<sup>B</sup>  
+ τῆς πόλεως ιζφ'. +

**Date:** 517 Ger.E. = Fall AD 454 – fall AD 455.

72. *GERASA* two lintel blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 476, no. 298.

[Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁ]σιω(άτου) ἐπισκόπου Κλα[υ]δίου ἐ[γ]ένετο [ἡ ἐκκλησία]  
τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ἐκ προσφορ-  
ᾶς τῆς μακαρίας Μαρίνας], τῷ ζκφ' ἔτει, χρ(όνων) γ' ἰνδικ(τιῶνος).

**Date:** 527 Ger.E., 3rd ind. = Fall AD 464 – 31 August AD 465.

73. *GERASA* four lintel blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 477-78, no. 300.

+ <sup>A</sup>Ἀχραντο|ς| <sup>B</sup>δόμος εἰμὶ ἀεθλοφόρου Θεοδώρου, μάρτυρος ἀθανάτ|ου, <sup>C</sup>  
θεοειδέος, οὗ κλέος ἔ|πτη ἐν χθονὶ κ(αι) πόντῳ  
καὶ τέρμασιν | Ὡκεανοῖο. Σῶμα γὰρ ἐν γαίῃ, ψυχὴ δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν,  
ἀγγελικ|ῆς μετὰ πότμον ἀεὶ μετέχ|ουσα χορείης. Ἐρκος  
ἀλεξ|ικακ|ο|ν τελέθει κάγηραον ἔρμα ἄστει καὶ ναέτησι καὶ ἐσσομέν|οισι  
πολίταις. + Χάριτι τοῦ <sup>D</sup>Θ(εο)ῦ ἐθεμελιώθη  
τὸ ἅγιον|μα|ρτύριον, μη(νὶ) Δίῳ, τῆς ν. γ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) κ(αι) ἀνήλθεν τὰ  
ὑπέ|ρ|θυρα ἐν μη(νὶ) Δίῳ, τῆς ε' |ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ θνφ' ἔ(τους).

**Date:** Dios 559 Ger.E., 5th ind. = Late fall – early winter AD 496.

*Comments:* Dios of the 3rd indiction year of the same indiction cycle would fall in late fall – early winter AD 494, the time of the founding of the building.

74. *GERASA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 478-79, no. 304.

+ Ἐπὶ Παύλου τοῦ θεοφίλε|στάτο|ν κ(αι) ὁσιοτῆ|του|  
ἐπισκόπου ἐπληρώθ|η| τὸ ἅγιον |μα|ρτύριον, ἀ|π|ὸ  
εὐλογιῶν αὐτοῦ κα|ὶ| Σαῶλα εὐλ|αβες|τ(άτου) διακόνου  
καὶ παραμον(αρίου), ἐπιστότος Προκοπίου|ν τοῦ καθοσ(ιωμένου),  
5 τῷ θνφ' ἔτει, Ὑπερβερεταίου, χρόν(ων) [ε' ? ἰνδ|ι|κ(τιῶνος)]. +

**Date:** Hyperberetaios 589 Ger.E., [5]th ind. = Fall AD 526.

75. *GERASA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 481, no. 309.

+ Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστ|άτου καὶ ὁσιω(τάτου) ἐπισ|κόπου Παύλου|  
[ἐσ|τεγᾶσθη καὶ ἐψηφώθη κ|αὶ ἀ|γχεοσμῆθη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου|  
[Γε]ωργίου, ἐκ προσφορᾶς οὗ ὁ Κύριος οἶδεν τὸ δνομα, ὑπ[ερ συν]-  
χωρήσεως ἀμαρτιῶν, ἐν χρόνοις η' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ βλφ' ἔτους. [+]

**Date:** 592 Ger.E., 8th ind. = Fall AD 529 – 31 August AD 530.

76. *GERASA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 483-84, no. 323.

--- | ἈΝΤΑ | ---  
-----  
-- | ΟΥΧ | --  
-- | ΜΑΙΣΤΕΑ | .. | ἸΤΩ | --  
5 -- ἐν τ|ῷ γλφ' ἔτ|ει ---

**Date:** 593 Ger.E. = Fall AD 530 – fall AD 531.

77. *GERASA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 479-80, no. 306.

[+ "Ος]οι βλέπουσι τοῦ τόπου τὸ κόσμιον καὶ τῆς στέγης τὸ σεμνὸν ἢ  
τῆς ψηφίδος, Παύλου δικαίως τοῦ σοφοῦ τοῦ ποιμένος  
αἰνοῦσι ἀτεχνῶς τὴν ἄγαν προθυμίαν καὶ τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν χορηγίαν  
θαμὰ. Θεόδωρος οὗτος οἰκοθεν χρυσὸν  
διδούς, ὃν Θωμᾶς ἐξέθρεψεν οἷα πατὴρ γεγώς, ψυχῇ προθύμῳ προσφο-  
ρὰν τῷ Προδρόμῳ (οὗ τὴν ὁμώνυμον προσηγορίαν  
ἐπέλαχεν), ὃ πᾶσαν ἐνθεὶς τῷ τόπῳ τὴν καλλονήν. Ὁ Κύριος οὖν, τῶν  
ἄλων ὁ Δεσπότης, προσδέξεται πάντων τὴν καλὴν  
5 προαίρεσιν. Ἐψηφώθη κ(αὶ) ἐστεγάσθη σὺν Θεῷ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ ἁγίου  
εὐκτηρίου, τῷ εἰς ἔτει, μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου, χρ(όνων) δεκάτης  
ἰνδικ(ιῶνος).

**Date:** Apellaios 594 Ger.E., 10th ind. = Winter AD 531/2.

**Comments:** The dating particles of this inscription comply with each other, if the era epoch is set in 63 BC.

78. *GERASA* section of a slab  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 469-70, no. 277.

[+++ ? Ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Ἀνασ[τασίου τοῦ μεγαλοπ[ρ(επεστάτου)]  
κ(αὶ) ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος), δουκὸς κ(αὶ) ἄρχ(οντος) τὸ β' κ(αὶ)  
Φλ(αουῖου) Σερ-  
[γίου τοῦ καθωσ(ιωμένου) μαγιστριανοῦ κ(αὶ) τοπο-  
[τηρητοῦ ἐγένετο τ]ὸ ἔργον τοῦ δῶμα-  
5 [τος ---- ]ρου, ἐκ φιλοτιμίας]  
[-- τοῦ πανλα]μπρο(τάτου) Σεργίου, τῷ  
[εἰς ἔτει -- ]αίῳ, χρόν(ων) ια' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 595 Ger.E., 11th ind. = Fall AD 532 – 31 August AD 533.

**Comments:** The restoration of the year numeral is based on another inscription (no. 80) published by Welles, although its origin is unknown.

79. *GERASA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 482, no. 314.

+ Ἐψηφώθη τὸ εὐ[κτῆριον τοῦ ἁγίου Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ τῷ εἰς ἔτει, Περιτίου, χρόνων ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).  
[Τ]ῶν ἀθλοφόρων νῦν τὴν καλὴν ξυνωρίδα  
σέβων, προσεύχου· καὶ γὰρ εἰσιν ἅγιοι,  
τέχνην ἔχοντες τῶν παθῶν θελκτῆριον.  
5 Ἐντεῦθεν ἕκαστος πρ[ο]σφέρων ἀγάλλεται,  
ταύτη καλύπτων τοῦ βίου τὰ πταίσματα.  
Τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι τὴν προθυμίαν νέμει  
Παῦλος ὁ ποιμὴν ὡς σοφὸς κυβερνήτης,  
ἵκοντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς σοφοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν  
10 ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗ μαθήτῃ τοῦνομα  
τοῦ Προδρόμου σώζοντα τὸ ἐπώνυμον.

**Date:** Peritios 595 Ger.E., 11th ind. = Late winter – early spring AD 533.

**Comments:** Peritios of 595 Ger.E. falls in the 11th indiction only if the era numeral is converted according to the epoch of 63 BC.

80. *UNKNOWN PROVENANCE* slab

Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 470, no. 278.

[Ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Ἀναστασίου, τοῦ μεγαλοπ|ρε(πεστάτου) κ(αὶ) ἐνδοξ(ο-  
τάτου) κόμ(ητος), δουκὸς κ(αὶ) ἄρχ(οντος)  
[τὸ β' κ(αὶ) Φλ(αουῖου) Σεργίου, τοῦ καθωσ(ιωμένου) μ|αγιστριανοῦ  
κ(αὶ) τοποτηρητοῦ,  
[ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δώματ|ος τοῦ Ὁκαιανοῦ, ἐκ φιλοτι-  
μίας τοῦ πανλαμπρ(οτάτου) Σεργ|ίου, τῷ ελφ' ἔτ(ει), Αὐγούστ|ῳ].

**Date:** August 595 Ger.E. = August AD 533.

81. *GERASA* block from a pillar

Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 470-71, no. 279.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) καὶ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου)|  
[ἡ]μῶν δουκὸς καὶ ἄρχ(οντος) Παῦλ(λ)|ου|  
[ἐ]πετελέσθη ὁ χαριέστατο[ς]  
[Μ|αειουμᾶς, διὰ ἐνιαυτῶν  
5 [.]ΣΤΕΘΙΟΥ λαμπρ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος) ΑΥΤΟ[.]  
[.]ΟΥ, ἐπιτελέσαντος  
τῷ ηλφ' ἔτει, Νοεμβρ|ῳ].

**Date:** November 598 Ger.E. = November AD 535.

82. *GERASA* block

Bibl. P.-L. Gattier, *Syria* 62 (1985), pp. 297-307, no. 1.

+ Παῦλος, ὁ μακαριώτ(ατος) ἡμῶν ἐπίσκο(πος), Θεοῦ Χάριτι καὶ τοῦτο  
τὸ εὐσεβὲς  
κτίσμα τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀνήγειρεν, τὸ συμφέρον δοκιμάσας, καὶ ἐν τῷ  
ὀνόματι τοῦ Κ(υρίου) εὐλόγησας ταύτην εἶναι πάντων τῶν ὑπαιτιῶν  
δι[χα]  
τῶν κατακρίτων, μὴ ἔχειν δὲ τινὰ ἐπ' ἀδείας κατὰδικον ἐνβάλλειν  
5 αὐτῇ, μήτε ἐξ αὐτῆς καταφέρειν τινὰ εἰς τὴν τῶν κατακρίτων φυλα-  
κὴν καὶ τὸν παραβαίνοντα τὰ εὐσεβῶς δεδοκιμασμένα παραδοῦς  
τῷ κρίματι τοῦ Κ(υρίου). Ἐπληρώθη δὲ ἐν μηνὶ Δίῳ, χρό(νων) γ' ἰνδ(ι-  
κτιῶνος), τοῦ βχ' ἔτους. +

**Date:** Dios 602 Ger.E., 3rd ind. = Late fall – early winter AD 539.



83. *GERASA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. J.M.C. Bowsher in F. Zayadine (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*, I (Amman 1986), p. 319, no. .

Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγιωτ(άτων) καὶ μ[ακαριωτ(άτων) Θωμᾶ μητροπολ(ίτου)  
καὶ Ἡσαΐου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐγιά[σθη] τοῦτο  
τὸ ἄγ(ιον) εὐκτῆρ(ιον). Οἰκοδομήθη δὲ ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ ἐψηφώθη  
καὶ διεκοσμήθη, ἐκ προσφο[ρᾶς]  
Βηροίου καὶ Εὐλαμπίας λαμπρ(οτάτων), ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν τ[ε]  
[καὶ] τῶν αὐτῶν τέκνων κ[αὶ]  
ἀναπαύσεως γονέων αὐτῶν, ἐν ἔτει α[κχ]´, μηνὶ Δαισίου, χρ(όνων)  
ζ´ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** Daisios [62]1 Ger.E., 7th ind. = Summer AD 559.

*Comments:* The restoration of the year numeral relies on the relative chronology of the metropolitan Thomas, who held this ecclesiastical office in the time of Justinian (Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 206-207, no. 9135), as well as on the indiction year and the units figure of the year numeral. One should, however, stress that the alternative numeral α[4φ] is also in harmony with all the epigraphical data.

84. *GERASA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 485-86, no. 331.

A +  
Ἄγιος  
ὁ ναὸς Σου,  
θαυμαστός  
5 ἐν δικαιο-  
σύνη.

B + Κλῆνον, Κύριε, τὸ οὖς [Σ]ου, καὶ ἐπάκουσόν μου ὅτι πτωχὸς καὶ  
πένιhs εἰμί. Φύλα[ξ]ιον τὴν ψυχὴν μου ὅτι Σός εἰμι. Σῶσον τὸν δοῦλόν  
Σου, ὁ Θεός, τὸν ἐλπίζοντα ἐπὶ Σέ. Ἐλέησόν με, Κύριε, ὅτι πρὸς Σε κε[κ]-  
[ρ]άξομαι ὅλην τὴν [ἡ]μέραν. + Εὐδοκίᾳ Θεοῦ συνέστη ἡ διακονία, ἐν  
μη[ν]ι(νὶ) Ἀρτεμισίῳ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ´, ἔτ(ει) ζκχ´.

**Date:** Artemisios 627 Ger.E., 13th ind. = Summer AD 565.

*Comments:* Artemisios of 627 Ger.E. falls in the summer of the 13th indiction if one subtracts 62 from the year numeral, which presupposes an era epoch in advanced 63 BC.

85. *GERASA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. M. Gawlikowski and A. Musa in F. Zayadine (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*, I (Amman 1986), pp. 141-43.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου καὶ θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου  
Μαριανοῦ, ἐκ θεμελίων ἐκτίσθη καὶ ἐτελειώθη  
ὁ ἅγιος οἶκος οὗτος, τῷ βλχ´ ἔτει, μηνὶ Ξανθικοῦ, χρ(όνων) γ´ ἰνδ(ικτιῶ-  
νος).

**Date:** Xanthikos 632 Ger.E., 3rd ind. = Spring AD 570.

*Comments:* The Macedonian month falls in the recorded indiction if 63 BC is considered as epoch of the Gerasene era.

86. *GERASA* mosaic floor

Bibl. F. Zayadine (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*, I (Amman 1986), pp. 17-18.

+ Ἑκοσμέθη  
καὶ ἐψηφώθε  
ὁ τόπ(ος) οὗτος τῶν ἐπι-  
τίμ(ων) Καλλαιν(ῶν) ἐπὶ τῆς  
5 α' ἐξαρχ(ίας) Κωνσταντί-  
νου κ(αὶ) Στεφάνου λο-  
γευτῆ, τῷ μχ'  
ἔτι, Αὐδναίου,  
χρ(όνων) ια' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** Audynaïos 640 Ger.E., 11th ind. = Late winter AD 578.

*Comments:* This recent text from Gerasa verifies Welles' statement that "the Gerasene year was not equated with the Roman year beginning with Audnaeus - January" (see comments of inscr. no. 87). This is deduced by the fact that if Gerasene year 640 had become equal to the Julian one AD 577, then Audynaïos - January would have fallen in the tenth indiction.

87. *GERASA* mosaic pavement

Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 475-76, no. 297.

Ἐπὶ τ[ί]ν[ο]ς  
ἡ ἀνόρθωσις  
καὶ ἡ ἐπικόσμησις  
τοῦ λουτροῦ; Ὁ χρόνος  
5 τοῦ φιλοκτίστου  
δηλοῖ, τοῦ ζμχ' ἔτους,  
μην(ός) Περιτίου,  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δευτέρ(ας).

**Date:** Peritios 646 Ger.E., 2nd ind. = Late winter - early spring AD 584.

*Comments:* This inscription is one more confirmation of 63 BC as the epoch for the Gerasene era. Furthermore, as Welles rightly pointed out "this text, with others, shows that the Gerasene year was not equated with the Roman year, beginning with Audnaeus-January" for "if G.E. 646 had been coextensive with the Julian year A.D. 583, Peritius = February would have fallen in the first indiction".

88. *GERASA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 486-87, no. 335.

Τῆς ψηφώσεως τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἐν χρόνοις  
 γέγονεν Γεγεσίου τοῦ ἀγι(ω)τ(άτου) ἡμῶν ἐπισκ(όπου),  
 ἐκ προσφορᾶς Ἰωάννου χρυσοχόου καὶ  
 Σαῶλα Κοί. ἡσασαμσιοῦς, τῷ γοχ' ἔτει,  
 5 μηνὸς Σεπτεμβρίου α', χρό(νων) ιε' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 1 September 673 Ger.E., 15th ind. = 1 September AD 611.

**Comments:** For the importance of this inscription in fixing the epoch of the Gerasene era see the text above, p. 90.

### 6a. Souf and Hamameh

The meagre archaeological remnants of Souf and Hamameh are encountered a few km. northwest and south, respectively, of the city of Gerasa and fall well within its territory. Therefore, the ancient communities living in those sites should also have dated their official records according to the Pompeian era of Gerasa (fall of 63 BC). The sites have yielded only one dated inscription each (nos. 89, 90), incised on the bases of movable pagan dedications. The style of both entirely complies with that of the proper Gerasene ones of the second century AD. The dating formulae are confined to the inverted year numeral rendered in Greek letters. In the case of Souf the year numeral follows the abbreviation L, while in that of Hamameh the expression "[ε]τους". Along with the era of Gerasa, its calendar also would have been used in Souf and Hamameh.

89. *SOÛF* altar  
Bibl. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* V (1902), pp. 15-21, § 3; idem, *PEFQS* 1902, pp. 15-21, no. 11; *PA* III, p. 310.

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη.  
 L αἷρ'. Διὰ ἀγίῳ Βεελβωσώρῳ  
 καὶ Ἠλίῳ Ἀμέραθος Δη-  
 μητρίου τοῦ καὶ Δάμμω-  
 5 γος Δημητρίου, ἀπελεύ-  
 θερος, τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέ-  
 θεκεν κατ' εὐχὴν.

**Date:** 161 Ger.E. = Fall AD 98 – fall AD 99.

90. *HAMAMEH* base  
Bibl. *SEG* 14 (1957), pp. 194-95, no. 830.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶ-  
 ν Σεβαστῶν

σωτηρίας, θε-  
 ᾧ Ἀραβικῷ Λε-  
 5 ουντᾷς Πρέπ-  
 ωντος τὸν ἀ-  
 ξτὸν ἐκ τῶν  
 ἰδίων ἐποίη-  
 σεν κατ' εὐχὴν.  
 10 [Ε]τους θπρ'.

**Date:** 189 Ger.E. = Fall AD 126 – fall AD 127.

*Comments:* The reading of the year numeral and especially of the tens figure is not secure. R. de Vaux (*ADAJ* 1 [1951], pp. 23-24) restored either θορ' or θπρ' based on the traces seen on the stone. The second choice (θπρ') was inspired, as de Vaux wrote, by another cursive year numeral (ἔτει λρ') inscribed on the cornice of the same base. According to this reading (AD 127/8) the text dates in the reign of Hadrian. One should not, however, accept this hypothesis unreservedly, since the acclamation does not address a single emperor.

## 7. Philadelphia

The southernmost city of the Decapolis, Philadelphia, also introduced a local era after Pompey's new organization of the province of Syria.<sup>87</sup> Its departure point is tentatively fixed in fall of 63 BC due to its vicinity to Gerasa<sup>88</sup> and to the classification of its year 1 under the second year of the 179th Olympiad according to the *Chronicon Paschale*.<sup>89</sup> Inscriptions as well as numismatic evidence are quite inconclusive regarding the precise epoch of the era (64 or 63 BC). Thus, in the present state of knowledge – although 63 BC seems more probable – the year 64 BC cannot be excluded as a candidate for the starting year of the era.<sup>90</sup>

**Calendar:** The calendar used in the city before the Julian reform is entirely unknown. The unique sixth century AD inscription (no. 93) recording month (Macedonian name) reveals nothing about: a) the structure of the Philadelphian calendar after the Julian reform, b) the eventual substitution of the Macedonian nomenclature by the Julian one in the sixth century AD, or c) the mode for counting the days.

Based on the evidence of the adjacent cities, one would propound a calendar modelled after the Julian prototype with Macedonian names (until at least the sixth century AD) and days numbered in succession from α' to λ'). Unfortunately, the first month of the Syro-Macedonian calendar employed at Philadelphia has not been precisely determined. Thus, the New Year has been vaguely set in fall (see discussion below).

**The inscriptions:** Epigraphical evidence for the Philadelphian era is limited to four inscriptions<sup>91</sup> which are ascribed to the second, sixth and eighth centuries AD.

87. Wright (supra note 1), p. 68; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 215; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, "Philadelphie de Coélé-syrie", *ADAJ* 25 (1981), p. 25.

88. Alt (supra note 45), p. 134, no. 2; Seyrig (supra note 14), p. 71; Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, p. 73, no. 56.

89. Dindorf, p. 351, 16; Alt (supra note 45), p. 132, no. 2.

90. Rey-Coquais (supra note 87), pp. 25-27; *SEG* 31 (1981), pp. 386-87, no. 1478.

91. Some coins from the area are also considered to bear year numerals according to the Philadelphian era. See Alt (supra note 45), p. 132, no. 2.

In the texts of the first two inscriptions (nos. 91, 92) which are incised on architectural blocks, the year numeral is introduced by the expression “ἔτει” in the middle of the text. The fuller dating formula (month, indiction, era year) of the sixth century inscription from Yadudeh (no. 93) is also found in the middle of the text of a church mosaic pavement. The letter corresponding to the hundreds is mutilated, while the exact day of the month is not recorded. This inscription is of crucial importance for the discussion concerning the beginning of the Philadelphian era and that of the Philadelphian New Year, for it preserves the concordance between the Pompeian year and the equivalent indiction year as well as mentions the month by giving its Macedonian name. More specifically the position of Gorpaios in the beginning or the end of the Philadelphian calendar is the key to the two-fold problem of the calendar and the era start.<sup>92</sup> If the assumed Julianized calendar of Philadelphia was analogous to that of neighbouring Gerasa, it is possible that Gorpaios opened the year (see calendar above). In that case the epoch of the Philadelphian era could be identical to the Gerasene one, i.e. 63 BC.

The latest inscription (AD 717/8, no. 94) is a text on the mosaic pavement of a church at El-Quweismeh, 6 km. south of Amman. The dating formula at the end of the text is reduced to the indiction and the era years.

All the year numerals are reversed. The indiction year numeral follows the introductory expression “χρό(νων)” or “ἐν χρ(όνοις)” and is written either in full (no. 94) or with Greek numerals, strangely enough, in descending order (no. 93).

The sites which yielded the above mentioned inscriptions fall well within the known territory of Philadelphia.<sup>93</sup> The fact that Philadelphia proclaims itself a city of Coele Syria<sup>94</sup> for more than a century after its incorporation in the province of Arabia<sup>95</sup> is striking, for this term must have been officially abandoned from before AD 112 onwards. Rey-Coquais<sup>96</sup> assumes that the term Coele Syria is connected with the organization of the imperial cult in the area. He bases his argument on the addition of the phrase Coele Syria next to the city titles of Abila, Dion, Pella and Gerasa and the information that one of the four “κοινά” for the imperial cult had been established in Damascus. It is, however, more probable that the term was used to refer to the geographical unit where the city was located and to remind everybody of the honoured and glorious past of the city.<sup>97</sup>

The four inscriptions dated by the Philadelphian era commemorate substantial building works (stoa, churches) meant for use by the city population. No dated burial inscription has been traced among the few funerary inscriptions from the area.

92. Alt (supra note 45), pp. 132-34, no. 2; Rey-Coquais (supra note 87), pp. 26-27; Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, p. 73; idem (supra note 62), p. 165.

93. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, pp. 176-77, map 22.

94. The coins of Philadelphia bear the title ‘Φιλαδελφῶν Κοίλης Συρίας’ until the early third century AD. See G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass.-London, Engl.), p. 88, note 44.

95. Gatier (supra note 62), p. 166, note 2.

96. Rey-Coquais (supra note 87), pp. 27-31; *SEG* 31 (1981), p. 386, no. 1477.

97. Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 157-58; Bowersock (supra note 94), pp. 90-92; Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 47-48, no. 23; idem (supra note 62), p. 164.

91. *RAJIB (area of Amman)* block  
Bibl. P.-L. Gatier and A.-M. VÉrilhac, *Syria* 66 (1989), pp. 338-41, no. I.

A. Θεός. Ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Ζεὺς Σ[ω]τήρ.

B. Ἀρίστων Κλήμεν-  
τος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος  
ᾠκοδόμησεν,  
μνήμης χάριν,  
ἔτει βς'.

C. Ἔχει (?) λίθους μεγάλ(ους) στερεμ(νίους) .. ΑΦ πόρου Μ<sup>B</sup>

D. Ἀνηλώθη  
τὰ πάντα

— <sup>A</sup>  
\* Μ, E

**Date:** 202 Ph.E. = Fall AD 139 (or 138) – fall AD 140 (or 139).

92. *AMMAN (Philadelphia)* two fragments of an architrave  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 47-48, no. 23.

frg. a) [Φ]ιλαδελέων τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν ἡ πόλις τὸ τρίσ-

frg. b) τοον ἔκτισεν, ἔτει βνς' ἐπὶ Κυείντου Φ vacat.

**Date:** 252 Ph.E. = Fall AD 189 (or 188) – fall AD 190 (or 189).

93. *YADUDEH* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 72-73, no. 56.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ ἀσιωτάτου

Θεοδοσίου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐψηφώθη

τὸ ψηφὶν τοῦτο, διὰ σπουδῆς

Σιλανοῦ διακ(όνου), ἐν μηνὶ Γαρπιέ-

5 ου, χρό(νων) ια' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), ἐν ἔτους εἰς[φ]

καὶ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν πρ[οσ]-

ενινκόντων [τῷ ἀγίῳ τ]όπῳ [τοῦ]-

τω καὶ τῶν [τέκνων αὐτ]ῶ[ν].

**Date:** Gorpiaios 565 Ph.E., 11th ind. = Fall AD 502 – 31 August AD 503.

*Comments:* Depending on the position of the month Gorpiaios in the Philadelphian calendar the text could be dated either at the beginning or at the end of the proposed time span. For the various restorations of the year numeral and the consequent eras proposed by some scholars see Gatier above.

94. *EL-QUWEISMEH* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 67-69, no. 53.

Θ(εοῦ) προνοία, σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιμελίᾳ Τζοβέου, τοῦ ὀσιωτ(άτου)  
πρε(σβυτέρου)

καὶ οἰκονόμου, ἀνενεώθη τὸ πᾶν κτήσμα ἐκ θεμελίων  
τῆς ἀγιωτ(άτης) ταύτης ἐκκλησίας κ(αὶ) ἐψηφώθη ὑπὲρ σω-  
τηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ Μακεδωνίου κ(αὶ) Ἀββίβου κ(αὶ) Ἰωάννου

5 αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν, ἐν χρ(όνοις) πρώτης ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ ἔτους πψ'.

**Date:** 780 Ph.E., 1st ind. = Fall AD 717 – 31 August AD 718.

*Comments:* The proposed time span implies more or less that the era started in 63 BC. However, one could equally argue that the completion of the mosaic belongs only to the period between fall and 31 December AD 717 which coincides as well with part of the first indiction. Thus, the epoch 64 BC cannot be rejected.

## 8. Dora or Apollonia

An epitaph (no. 95) whose provenance is debated – Tanturah or Arsoûf – offers an opportunity to refer to the local eras of Dora and Apollonia (Sozousa), respectively.

Dora,<sup>98</sup> on the site of the modern village Tanturah, is mentioned among the cities liberated and declared autonomous by Pompey<sup>99</sup> and – if Ἀδωρα is another name for Δῶρα – those restored by Gabinius<sup>100</sup> (57-55 BC). Dated coins struck in the time of Vespasian (AD 69-79) and Trajan (AD 98-117) seem to indicate an era around 63 BC.<sup>101</sup> This date associates the Greek revival of this city, and therefore of its era, with the benefactory march of Pompey and not with the subsequent activity of Gabinius.

Arsoûf, the alternative find place of the burial text, is identified with Apollonia.<sup>102</sup> Reasonably enough, its era could be linked with Gabinius' re-establishment of the city.<sup>103</sup> Its epoch, then, should be placed between 57-55 BC, year 57 being the most reasonable.<sup>104</sup>

Thus, the inverted year numeral, quite usual for a Greek-influenced Pompeian era, corresponds to year AD 170/1 or 176/7, respectively. The Macedonian month name Apellaios, accompanied by a Greek numeral indicating the specific day, hints that the calendar in use could be a Syro-Macedonian one. Accordingly the year of both eras should have started somewhere in the fall.

98. Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 118-20.

99. Josephus, *Antiq.* 14.4.4-76.

100. *Ibid.*, 14.5.3-88.

101. W. Kubitschek, "Ueber die Pompeius-Aera in Syrien", *AEMÖU* 13 (1890), p. 209; idem, *RE* I, 1 (1893), cols. 649-50, s.v. Aera; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 358, note 2; Ginzell, *Handbuch* III, p. 48, note 2; H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes 56. Eres pompéiennes des villes de Phénicie", *Syria* 31 (1954), p. 79, note 2; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 215; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 120, note 185.

102. Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 114.

103. G. Cornfield, *Josephus. The Jewish War* (Tel Aviv 1982), p. 41, l. 8.4-166.

104. H. Vincent, "Chronique. Glanures archéologiques", *RB* n.s. 6 (1909), p. 446.

95. *DORA (Tanturah) or APOLLONIA (Arsoûf)* stele  
Bibl. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* V (1903), pp. 285-88, § 44; H. Vincent, *RB* n.s. 6 (1909), pp. 445-46.

Ζωῖλα ἐνθά-  
δε κεῖται  
ἐτῶν τριά-  
κοντα, φί-  
5 λανδρος·  
γλσ' Ἀπελ-  
λαίου κς'.  
Θάρσει.

**Date:** 26 Apellaios 233 P.E. = Winter AD 170/1 or

26 Apellaios 233 Gab.E. = Winter AD 176/7.

## 9. Gaza

A city era was in use in Gaza and its territory<sup>105</sup> during the first seven Christian centuries. Its epoch is fixed on 28 October 61 BC<sup>106</sup> through crossreferences furnished by the *Chronicon Paschale* (4th year of the 179th Olympiad),<sup>107</sup> a series of coins struck at Gaza bearing the names of Roman emperors<sup>108</sup> and dated inscriptions (e.g. no. 132).

In historical terms, the year 1 of the era of Gaza seems puzzling at first. On one hand, it is rather late to be connected with Pompey, the liberator of the city,<sup>109</sup> who had already left for Rome in 62 BC. On the other hand, it is pretty early to refer to Gabinius who was appointed proconsul of Syria only in 57 BC and is usually credited with the restoration of the city. This date, however, makes sense if one keeps in mind that the so-called "Pompeian eras" were inaugurated in the various cities either immediately after freedom was restored and the people set themselves about the reconstruction of their city, or even retrospectively. According to the first alternative, Marcus Philippus, governor of Syria for the years 61-60 BC, might have encouraged Gazaeans as well, among the populations of the ruined cities, to restore Gaza or the citizens themselves might have started the reconstruction of their free "polis".<sup>110</sup> Thus, Gabinius declared the official rebuilding of the ruined urban centres carrying into effect previous plans.<sup>111</sup>

105. Kraemer, *Nessana* 3, p. 36.

106. Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, pp. 424 and 428-29; idem. *RAO* VI (1905), p. 123; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 358; F. Bleckmann, "Bericht über griechische und lateinische Epigraphik", *ZDPV* 36 (1913), p. 238; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 49; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 216; Glucker, p. 38.

107. Dindorf I, p. 352: "Ἐντεῦθεν Γαζαῖοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χρόνους ἀριθμοῦσιν".

108. Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, p. 419; G.F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (London 1914), p. lxxviii, no. 2. On Gazaeans coins bearing the name of Hadrian, one more era (with epoch on 28 October AD 129) is coupled with year numerals according to the city era of Gaza. This era commemorates Hadrian's visit in the city. See Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, p. 429.

109. Josephus, *War*, 1.7.7-156.

110. Glucker, p. 38.

111. Hill (supra note 108), p. lxxviii.



**Calendar:** Along with the inscriptions, information about the Gazaeen calendar is provided by the *Hemerologia* of Rome and Leiden<sup>112</sup> and by the citation of Deacon Mark of Gaza in his “Life of St. Porphyry” (first half of fifth century AD) that Dios and Apellaos were the first and second months of the year, respectively.<sup>113</sup>

The calendar of Gaza, like that of Ascalon, is modelled on the Egyptian one with some deviations due to influences by the Macedonian calendar.<sup>114</sup> Its basis is a fixed solar year of twelve months of thirty days each with five intercalary days (and an additional sixth one every four years). The Gazaeen months, however, adopt the Macedonian nomenclature and order as well as the practice of beginning the year in fall (1 Dios = 28 October) instead of 29 August as the Alexandrine calendar. This shift of the beginning of the year results in the unnatural position of the epagomenal days which, keeping their original place between Loos and Gorpiaios (24-29 August), are no longer added at the end of the year.<sup>115</sup>

In Third Palestine the use of the Gazaeen calendar is hinted at twice by the inverted month day numerals of two funerary inscriptions dated by the era of Gaza (Beersheba, no. 115; Shivta, no. 127). In the same area the commonly used and structurally similar Graeco-Arabic calendar is also associated with the era of Gaza, as one epitaph (no. 126) shows.

**The inscriptions:** The most decisive confirmation of the data available from the ancient literature and the *Hemerologia* regarding the dating system at Gaza is furnished by the Greek inscriptions found in the city and its environs. Nine inscriptions collected outside of the city's territory are classified under the era of Gaza due to the explicit statement that the time is reckoned on the basis of this era (“κατὰ Γαζαίους”) or due to the agreement of the date with the era's specifications (nos. 107, 112, 115, 117, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131).

Except for a long gap between the second quarter of the third century AD and the middle of the fifth century AD, dated inscriptions are attested from the first down to the seventh century AD. In the pagan times of the city (until early fifth century AD) the information regarding the date derives almost exclusively (except for the dedicatory inscr. no. 104) from lead weights. On them the dating formula is limited to recording the year numeral which sometimes follows the plain genitive “ἔτους”. Until AD 153/4 the year numeral appears at the top of the text which connects the absolute era date with the office of a certain market-magistrate. The practice of placing the date at the very end of the inscription is foreshadowed in a lead weight of AD 130/1 (no. 99), but it is constantly respected from the time of the dedicatory inscription no. 104 (AD 179/80) till the end of the system.

The inscriptions of Christian times are mostly incised on tombstones. Only one inscription (no. 121) written on a pillar commemorates the execution of a paving,

112. Kubitschek, *Kalenderbücher*, passim.

113. H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener (eds.), *Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza* (Paris 1930), p. 16, ch. 19.6-7: “τὸν παρ’ αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μῆνα καλούμενον Δίον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν δεύτερον Ἀπελλαῖον”; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 32, note 1.

114. Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, pp. 423-24; idem, *RAO* VI (1905), pp. 123-24; Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 342-43; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 32; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 103, note 87.

115. Lists of the months are to be found in: Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, p. 421; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 344; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 32; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 172; Samuel, *GRC*, p. 177 and Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 48.

while four others (nos. 114, 131, 134, 135) are part of the mosaic pavements to which they refer.

Already in the first Christian inscription the day of the month appears preceding the year according to the Gazaeen era. The references to the name of the month and its day as well as to the era year are introduced by the phrases “μηνί” or “ἐν μηνί” + genitive and “ἔτους” or “τοῦ ἔτους...”, respectively. The dating by indiction years is attested from ca. mid-fifth century AD (no. 107, AD 441) and is added normally at the end of the dating formula (exception, nos. 116, 119). The Greek numerals for the count of the era years, the days and the indiction years are usually inverted. But three month-day and one indiction numerals (nos. 116, 123, 128, 110) are written in straight forward order. Three inscriptions (nos. 123, 124 and 125) provide firm evidence for the place of the five epagomenal days, the sequence of the Macedonian months and the stability regarding the beginning of the year. Clermont-Ganneau,<sup>116</sup> based on the following considerations, settled the case definitely: inscription no. 123 dated on 21 Loos 601 G.E. (14 August AD 541) coincides with the fourth indiction year, while no. 125 dated on 4 Gorpaios 601 G.E. (1 September AD 541) reasonably falls in the next indiction year which began on this very day. Inscription no. 124 dated to the fourth epagomenal day of the same year (601 G.E.) and the fourth indiction year should consequently precede inscription no. 125 and thus the epagomenae should be placed for certain between Loos and Gorpaios as in the Alexandrine calendar. A further correlation is achieved through inscr. no. 352 of the era of the province of Arabia which mentions the Gazaeen month and month day and their equivalents in the Graeco-Arabic calendar.

A small number of sixth century inscriptions name categorically the era “κατὰ Γαζαίων” (nos. 115, 126, 129, 131, 132) or the calendar “κατὰ Γάζ(ην)” in use (E.P.A. no. 352). The phenomenon of the emphatical designation of a city dating system is always due to a special reason: either the era or the calendar was used outside of the territory, where these systems were valid and thus self-evident,<sup>117</sup> or their clear indication emphasized the contrast between two simultaneously used dating systems. The examination of the inscriptions in question seems to confirm this rule.

The first inscription of this kind (no. 115) was acquired at Beersheba. However, its provenance is uncertain and makes the discussion about the chronological aspects fragile. Beersheba, a city exposed to the influences of both Gaza and Eleutheropolis and incorporated from the fourth century AD onwards into Palaestina Tertia, employed almost exclusively<sup>118</sup> a hybrid dating system combining the Eleutheropolitan era to reckon the years with the Graeco-Arabic calendar to refer to months.<sup>119</sup> Thus, the expression “κατὰ Γαζαίων” may provide evidence for a native of Gaza who died in Beersheba or in an adjacent site of Palaestina Tertia.

Inscription no. 126, coming from an unknown site of Third Palestine, also points out – by naming it – that the calendar employed was the Graeco-Arabic one (“κατὰ Ἀράβους”) and juxtaposes it to the Gazaeen era. This accuracy is not demonstrated in the earliest example (no. 115) where only the era is specified. That the calendar in question could be the Graeco-Arabic one is extremely probable, since this is the only

116. Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, p. 423.

117. W. Kubitschek, “Kalenderstudien”, *JÖAI* 8 (1905), p. 91, note 7; Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 384, 389-90.

118. Except for the inscriptions dated by the Eleutheropolitan era the date of one inscription from Beersheba has been converted on the basis of the era and calendar of the province of Arabia (no. 397).

119. See chapter of the Era of Eleutheropolis.

calendar in the area of Beersheba so well attested and regionally justified.<sup>120</sup> However, the inverted month day numeral casts doubts in favour of the Gazaeen calendar. Unfortunately, the single month day figure of inscription no. 117 found at Beersheba cannot provide any firm evidence concerning the calendar linked with the Gazaeen era in Palaestina Tertia. An inverted month day numeral of the epitaph no. 127 collected at Shivta also alludes to the Gazaeen calendar. The use of the latter becomes very feasible in connection with the synonymous era.

The ancient settlement in the location of Ḥorvat Karkur which yielded a marble fragment (no. 129) dated by the Gazaeen era, “[κατ]ὰ Γαζ(αίους)”, was not subject to Gaza’s jurisdiction.

The era designation, “κατὰ [Γαζαίους]”, is fairly surely restored on the mosaic pavement at Shellāl (no. 131, AD 561/2), a site south and beyond the territory of Gaza.

Maiumas, the find spot for another inscription of this category (no. 132), falls well within the city territory and therefore the formula “κατὰ Γαζαίους” seems to contradict the supposition that reference to the era occurs only out of the city boundaries. But the examination of its historical background may account for this discrepancy. The citizens of the port of Maiumas continually strove for their independence and never quite recognized the status of Gaza, although they shared magistrates and public administration for certain periods.<sup>121</sup> In view of this idiosyncratic co-existence of the two communities the explicit reference to the era of the metropolis is not striking.<sup>122</sup>

The use of the Gazaeen calendar next to the exhaustive dating formula based on the era of provincia Arabia and its calendar in the inscription from ‘Avdat (no. 352 of E.P.A.) seems superfluous and regionally inappropriate. However, the additional reference to the Gazaeen calendar was perhaps felt necessary by the family who set up the tombstone due to its ties with Gaza. On the other hand, the specific designation of the Graeco-Arabic calendar which was employed at ‘Avdat (and generally in Third Palestine) would be an unnecessary elucidation if there were no fear of confusion of the calendaric systems followed.

What seems apparent, then, is that the phrase “κατὰ Γαζαίους” is documented during the sixth century AD almost exclusively in areas outside of the Gazaeen territory where other dating systems were at work.

96. *GAZA* lead weight  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 151-52, no. 42/12.

Ἔτους γπ',  
ἡμιλί-  
τριν.

**Date:** 83 G.E. = 28 October AD 22 – 27 October AD 23.

120. A. Alt, “Ein Grabstein aus Beersheba”, *ZDPV* 42 (1919), pp. 182-83 and 187. Other inscriptions from Beersheba dated by the Eleutheropolitan era (nos. 4 and 9) or merely by indiction (*SEG* 34 [1984], p. 406, no. 1466 and *SEG* 36 [1986], p. 407, no. 1328) qualify their calendar followed by the same clause ‘κατὰ Ἀραβας’.

121. Jones, *Cities*, p. 280; Glucker, p. 43.

122. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 386.

97. *GAZA* lead weight  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 149, no. 42/3.

Ἔτους ζπ',  
(δευτέρας) ἐξαμήνου,  
ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
Ἀλφίου,  
5 ἀγορανόμου.

**Date:** 86 G.E. = 28 October AD 25 – 27 October AD 26.

98. *GAZA* lead weight  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 148, no. 42/2.

(Ἔτους) δξρ', ἀ-  
γορανο-  
μοῦντος  
Δικαίου.

**Date:** 164 G.E. = 28 October AD 103 – 27 October AD 104.

99. *GAZA* lead weight  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 151, no. 42/10.

(Πρώτης) ἐξα-  
μήνου,  
ἐπὶ Σωπᾶ,  
αζρ'.

**Date:** 191 G.E. = 28 October AD 130 – 27 October AD 131.

100. *GAZA* lead weight  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 151, no. 42/11.

(Ἔτους) αζρ',  
ἀγο(ρανόμου)  
Ἀπολλωνίου.

**Date:** 191 G.E. = 28 October AD 130 – 27 October AD 131.

101. *GAZA* lead weight  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 152, no. 42/24.

Ἐτ(ους) ασ',  
(δευτέρας) ἐξαμή-  
νου, ἀγο-  
ρανομ-

5 |ο|ῥντο-  
ς Ζήν-  
ωνος.

**Date:** 201 G.E. = 28 October AD 140 – 27 October AD 141.

102. *GAZA* lead weight  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 154, no. 43/2.

(Ἔτους) δις', ἐπὶ  
Ἡρώδου  
ἀγοραν(όμου),  
L μδ'.

**Date:** 214 G.E. = 28 October AD 153 – 27 October AD 154.

*Comments:* L here is an abbreviation for (λίτρα) and indicates the weight.

103. *GAZA* three identical lead weights  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 154, no. 43/3.

(Ἔτους) δις', (front)  
ἐπὶ Ἡρώδου.  
L κβ' (back)

**Date:** 214 G.E. = 28 October AD 153 – 27 October AD 154.

104. *GAZA* pillar  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 120-21, no. 3.

Ἀμμώνιος  
Δομεστίκου  
ὑπὲρ Δομε-  
στίκου υ-  
5 |οῦ| ἀνέθη-  
κεν, (ἔτους) μσ'.

**Date:** 240 G.E. = 28 October AD 179 – 27 October AD 180.

105. *GAZA* lead weight  
Bibl. *SEG* 28 (1978), p. 395, no. 1412; Glucker, p. 150, no. 42/5.

Ἀρχῆς  
Ἀπολλω-  
νίου Διο-  
φάντου,  
5 ἀγορα-  
νόμου,  
γπς'.

**Date:** 283 G.E. = 28 October AD 222 – 27 October AD 223.

106. *GAZA* lead weight  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 149-50, no. 42/4.

Ἀρχῆς  
Αὐρ(ηλίου) Βελλικ-  
οῦ Τηλεμ-  
άχου, ἀγο-  
5 ρανόμου, ζψς.

**Date:** 287 G.E. = 28 October AD 226 – 27 October AD 227.

107. *MELILOT* slab  
Bibl. Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions*, p. 22, no. 14; *SEG* 36 (1986), pp. 407-408, no. 1330.

[Ἀνε]πάη ὁ τῆς  
[ca.6] καὶ τρισμακα-  
[ρίας] μνηήμης Ἀνδρέας  
[ca.6] μῆνι Ἀφρ ε',  
5 [ca.6] αφ' ἔτους,  
[ca.6], ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'. ϙ

**Date:** 5 Loos 501 G.E., 9th ind. = 29 July AD 441.

*Comments:* The chronological data of the inscription correlate with both the era of the province of Arabia and that of Gaza. In the bibliography the former is deemed a more reasonable choice, since conversion according to the epoch of the Gazaeen era furnishes a rather too early date to be compatible with the style of the funerary text. But the inverted year numeral as well as another Christian epitaph from Gaza (no. 108), dated just 9 years later, demonstrate that the era of Gaza is not only probable, but also the most preferable one. Another argument in favour of the Gazaeen era and the respective calendar is the provenance of the slab. Melilot – where this epitaph was found – is located in the northwestern part of saltus Gerariticus, an imperial estate adjacent to the Gazaeen territory.

In this case, the years reckoning system was borrowed from nearby Gaza. Accordingly, one would expect the explicit designation of the era to escort the year numeral. It is then possible that the missing particle left of the year indication is reserved for this phrase.

108. *GAZA* tablet  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 121-22, no. 4.

+ A + Ω[+]  
Ἐνθα κεῖτ[αι]  
τὸ λίψανον  
τρισμακαρίο[υ]  
5 καὶ ἐν ἀγίοις  
π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Εἰρη-  
ναίου τοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου).

- τὸ δὲ πν(εῦμ)α παρὰ  
τῷ Θεῷ. Ἀμήν.  
10 Ἀνεπάη δὲ μη-  
νὶ Αὐδόναίῳ ζ',  
ἔτους ιϛ'.  
+

**Date:** 7 Audynaios 510 G.E. = 2 January AD 450.

109. *GAZA* slab  
Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *EchO* 8 (1905), p. 12, no. II; idem, *Un musée Palestinien. Notice sur le Musée Archéologique de Notre Dame de France à Jérusalem* (Paris n.d.), p. 27, fig. 11.

- + Εὐλογητός Κ(ύριο)ς.  
Ἀμήν. Ἀπεγένε-  
το τὸ σκίνωμα τοῦ  
ἁγίου πατρὸς ὁ-  
5 μῶν Ἰωάννου, τοῦ  
πρεσβ(υτέρου), ἐν μηνὶ Ξαν-  
δικοῦ ακ', τοῦ ζκϛ' ἔ-  
τους, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶν[α]ς.  
Ἀμήν.

**Date:** 21 Xanthikos 527 G.E. = 16 April AD 467.

110. *GAZA* slab  
Bibl. D. Barag, "The Kingdom of Heaven in a Christian epitaph of 474 CE from Gaza" (in Hebrew), *EI* 19 (1987), *M. Avi-Yonah Memorial Volume*, pp. 242-45 with an English summary, p. 80\*; *SEG* 37 (1987), p. 466, no. 1484.

- + Ὑ[π]ερ κυμύσεως καὶ ἀναπ-  
αύσεως τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐμῶν  
Ἀνεστασία καὶ ἀνάπαυσον  
Κύριε, τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δούλης <ς>  
5 Σου Ἀνεστασία μετὰ τῶν ἁγί-  
ων Σου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Σου τῶ-  
ν οὐρανῶν. + Ἀνεπάη δὲ ἐν  
μηνὶ Πανέμου εἰ', τοῦ δλϛ' ἔ- +  
τους, ἰνδικτιῶνες ιβ'. +

**Date:** 15 Panemos 534 G.E., 12th ind. = 9 July AD 474.

111. *GAZA* slab  
Bibl. Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, p. 401, no. 1.

- |--|μιος Μ, ἐν μηνὶ  
|--|μϛ'. Ἀμέν(?).

[-----] OE.

Date: 540(?) G.E. = 28 October AD 479 – 27 October AD 480.

112. *BEEROT YISHAQ* (near Tel Aviv) slab  
Bibl. SEG 17 (1960), p. 206, no. 783.

+ + +  
Θήκη τοῦ τρι <σ> -  
μακαρίου Ἀλ-  
εξάνδρου, πρ-  
εσβυτέρου κα[ι]  
5 ἀρχιμανδρί-  
του· ἀνεπάη τῇ  
Περιτίου θκ',  
τοῦ ἐξφ' ἔτους,  
ἰνδικτ(ῶνος) γι'.

Date: 29 Peritios 565 G.E., 13th ind. = 23 February AD 505.

113. *GAZA* (Maiumas) slab  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 122, no. 5.

+ Θήκη τοῦ μακαρι-  
οτάτου Ζήνονος, υἱ-  
οῦ Βάλουος καὶ Μεγά-  
λης· ἐκατετέθη  
5 μηνὶ Ὑβερβερετέου  
βκ', τοῦ ἐξφ' ἔτους,  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γι' +

Date: 22 Hyperberetaios 565 G.E., <14>th ind. = 19 October AD 505.

Comments: 19 October AD 505 falls in the 14th indiction and not in the 13th.

114. *GAZA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 146-47, no. 39.

Μανάα-  
μος καὶ Ἰσοῦος,  
υἱοὶ τοῦ μακαρ(ιωτάτου)  
Ἰσσήτος, ξυλέμποροι,  
5 εὐχαριστοῦντες  
τῷ ἀγιωτ(άτῳ) τόπῳ καὶ  
τὴν ψήφωσιν ταύτην  
προσενήγκαμεν  
[ἐν] μηνὶ Λῶφ, τοῦ  
10 θξφ'.

Date: Loos 569 G.E. = 25 July – 23 August AD 509.



115. *BEERSHEBA* stele  
Bibl. F.C. Burkitt, *PEFQS* 1920, pp. 17-18, no. 1; *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 46, no. 299.

[+ 'Αν]επάη ή μα-  
[καρί]α Μαρία τῇ  
[μη(νός)] 'Αρ[ε]μισίου ακ',  
[τοῦ] κατὰ Γαζαί-  
5 [ους . ] οφ' ἔτους.

**Date:** 21 Artemisios 57[1-9] G.E. = 16 May AD 511-519.

*Comments:* The time span of the text is 571-579 G.E. if a unit figure is to be restored in the year numeral. The calendar employed should be the Graeco-Arabic one used in Beersheba, where the stele was acquired, and the whole of Palaestina Tertia. The inverted month day, however, implies that the use of the Gazaeen era attracted the use of the calendar of the same city too.

116. *GAZA* slab  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 122-23, no. 6.

+ 'Ενθάδε  
κατετέθη  
ὁ μακάριος  
Γερόντιος, τῇ  
5 κβ' μη(νός) Λῶου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ',  
τοῦ αοφ' ἔτους.  
+

**Date:** 22 Loos 571 G.E., 4th ind. = 15 August AD 511.

117. *BEERSHEBA* stele  
Bibl. F. M. Abel, *RB* 12 (1903), p. 427, no. 4; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* V (1903), p. 370; S. Vailhé, *EchO* 6 (1903), pp. 310-11, 314; W. Kubitschek, *JÖAI* 8 (1905), pp. 97-98; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 382, no. 16; idem, *SBWien* 177.4 (1916), pp. 19-20, note 1.

+ 'Ανεπάη  
ὁ μακάριος  
Προκόπιος  
ἐν μη(νι) <Λ> ῶου  
5 κ', τοῦ ζοφ'  
ἔτους,  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'. +

**Date:** 20 Loos 576 G.E., 9th ind. = 8 or 13 August AD 516.

*Comments:* The year numeral has been converted according to various eras: Christian (Abel), Gazaeen (Clermont-Ganneau, Vailhé, Kubitschek), that of provincia Arabia (Schwartz). Computation by the provincial era is in accordance with the in-

diction recorded but places the epitaph in a rather late context (AD 681). The style of the inscription ascribes it to the 6th century AD. The only era compatible with such a requirement as well as with the indiction number and inversion of the numeral is that of Gaza. Although reckoning by this era seems strange – since the era of Eleutheropolis was at work in the area – inscription no. 115 justifies this choice.

Since the Gazaeen era was not the usual one at Beersheba, one would expect the year numeral to have been escorted by the proper indiction. According to Kubitschek it was the context in which the tomb was erected that made any further elucidation redundant.

The Graeco-Arabic calendar would have been deduced if inscription no. 115 had not raised serious questions in favour of the Gazaeen calendar.

118. *GAZA (Maiumas)* slab  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 123-24, no. 7.

+ Θήκη τῆς [μακαρίας]  
Θεωδότης, θ[υγατρὸς]  
τοῦ μακαριο(τάτου) [Βάλυος]  
καὶ Μεγάλης· ἀ[νε]-  
5 πάη μη(νι) Ξανθικ(οῦ) θ',  
τοῦ θπφ' ἔτους,  
+ (ι)νδι(κτιῶνος) ζ' +

**Date:** 9 Xanthikos 589 G.E., 7th ind. = 4 April AD 529.

119. *GAZA* slab  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 124, no. 8.

+ Ἐνθάδε  
κατετέθ[η]  
Στέφανος ὁ  
εὐλαβ(έστατος), μ(ηνι)  
5 Δεσίῳ η', ἰν-  
δ(ικτιῶνος) β', τοῦ  
θ,φ' ἔτους.

**Date:** 8 Daisios 599 G.E., 2nd. ind. = 2 June AD 539.

120. *GAZA* fragment of a slab  
Bibl. Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, p. 404, no. 6.

--- ΙΩ ---  
--- τοῦ ---  
--- φ' ἔτους ---

**Date:** 5[.] G.E. = 28 October AD 439 – 27 October AD 539.

121. *GAZA* pillar  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 142-43, no. 34.

+ Τοῦ Κ(υρίου) ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ +  
πλήρωμα αὐτῆς·  
+ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
διακόνου ἐπλῆ-  
5 κώθη τὰ ὧδε·  
ἔτους χ', μ(ηνι) Περιτίου,  
ἰγ[δ(ικτιῶνος) --- ]·

**Date:** Peritios 600 G.E. = 26 January – 24 February AD 540.

122. *GAZA* marble fragment (probably stele)  
Bibl. Clermont-Ganneau, *ARP* II, p. 409, no. 11.

-----  
--- τοῦ αχ' ---.

**Date:** 601(?) G.E. = 28 October AD 540 – 27 October AD 541.

123. *GAZA* tablet  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 124-25, no. 9.

+  
Κ(ύρι)ε, ἀνάπαυσον  
τὴν δούλην Σου  
Διγούνηθαν Λεον-  
τίου· ἐνθάδε κα-  
5 τετέθη μη(νι) Λῶφου  
κα', τοῦ αχ' (ἔτους), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'.

**Date:** 21 Loos 601 G.E., 4th ind. = 14 August AD 541.

124. *GAZA* slab  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 125, no. 10.

+ Ἐνθάδε  
κῆτε ὁ τοῦ  
Χ(ριστο)ῦ δοῦ-  
λος κ(αὶ) ἐν  
5 ἀγίοις  
Ἀβραάμι-  
ὅς Πατρι-  
κίου, διάκ(ονος)·  
τῇ ἐπαγο-  
10 μ(ένῃ) δ', τοῦ  
αχ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'.

**Date:** Fourth epagomenal 601 G.E., 4th ind. = 27 August AD 541.

125. *GAZA (Maiumas)* flagstone  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 126-27, no. 11.

+ Μητρᾶς, κα[ταλι]-  
πὼν τὸ λοιπ[ὸν τοῦ]  
βείου αὐτοῦ, ἐν[θά]-  
δε παραγένετ[ο].  
5 ἀνεπάη δὲ ἐκ  
τῶν αὐτοῦ μό-  
χθων ἐν μη(νὶ) Γορπ(ιαίῳ) δ',  
τοῦ αχ' ἔτ(ους), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'.

+

**Date:** 4 Gorpaios 601 G.E., 5th ind. = 1 September AD 541.

126. *NEGEV (area of)* stele  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 45, no. 293; Y. Meimaris, *GA* 3 (1984), p. 179.

† 'Ανεπάη ὁ μακ(άριος) Οὐ-  
αλεντῖνος Πέτρου,  
ἐν μη(νὶ) Ξανθικ(οῦ) κ' κα-  
τὰ 'Αράβους, κατὰ  
5 δὲ Γαζ(αίους) τοῦ εχ'  
ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η'.

**Date:** 20 Xanthikos 605 G.E., 8th ind. = 10 April AD 545.

*Comments:* The inscription was copied at Jerusalem from a stele coming from S. Palestine. A. Alt (*ZDPV* 46 [1923], pp. 59, 61) did not hesitate to ascribe it to Beersheba. Although such a provenance is highly probable, one is bound to use the valuable information about the combination of the Gazaeen era with the Graeco-Arabic calendar in Beersheba with caution.

127. *SHIVTA* fragment of a slab  
Bibl. G.E. Kirk, *JPOS* 17 (1937), pp. 211-12, 215, no. 2.

+ 'Ανεπάη ὁ μακάριος  
Γεόργιος, αὐτῆς υειός,  
μηνὶ 'Αρτεμισίου ζι',  
εχ' ἔτους, +  
5 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'.

**Date:** 17 Artemisios 606 G.E., 9th ind. = 12 May AD 546.

*Comments:* Shivta, as part of Palaestina Tertia, used the Graeco-Arabic calendar (E.P.A. nos. 392, 419, 487, 505-507). But the inverted month day of this epitaph exceptionally dated by the era of Gaza (like no. 130, seems to imply that in this case the month was counted according to the calendar of Gaza. For an analogous case see no. 115. For an epigraphically attested combination of the era of Gaza with the Graeco-Arabic calendar see no. 126.

128. *GAZA (Maiumas)* slab  
Bibl. Glucker, p. 127, no. 12.

+  
+ 'Ανεπάη  
εἰ μακαρ(ία)  
'Αθανασία, μη(νι)  
'Αρτεμησίου  
5 ιζ', τοῦ ηχ'  
ἔτους. +

**Date:** 17 Artemisios 608 G.E. = 12 May AD 548.

129. *HORVAT KARKUR* stone screen fragment  
Bibl. Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions*, p. 38, no. 30; *SEG* 36 (1986), p. 409, no. 1337.

vacat  
|--κατ]ὰ Γαζ(αίους) ειχ'.

**Date:** 615 G.E. = 28 October AD 554 – 27 October AD 555.

130. *SHIVTA* fragment of a tombstone  
Bibl. G.E. Kirk, *JPOS* 17 (1937), pp. 212-15, no. 3.

+ 'Ανε[πάη -- --]  
Σελαμ[άνου? -- --]  
Πανή[μου --- ἔτ]-  
ρη[ς] [.] κχ' [-- --].

**Date:** Panemos 620 – 62[9] G.E. = 25 June – 24 July AD 560 – 25 June – 24 July AD 569.

*Comments:* For the Gazaean calendar used in this inscription see comments on inscr. no. 127.

131. *SHELLAL* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 3 (1933) [1934], p. 42, no. 306.

+ Τόνδε τὸν νεὸν δαψιλεῖ [ψηφώσσει διεκόσ]-  
μησαν ὃ τε ὀσιώτ(ατος) ἡμῶν ἐπίσκ(οπος) -- --]  
καὶ ὁ θεοφιλ(έστατος) Γεώργιος, ὁ π[ρεσβ(ύτερος) καὶ παραμο]-  
νάριος, ἐν τῷ βκχ' ἔτει κατὰ [Γαζαίους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι' +].

**Date:** 622 G.E., [10]th ind. = 1 September AD 561 – 31 August AD 562.

132. *GAZA* (*Maiumas*) slab  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 127-28, no. 13.

+ Ἐνθάδε κατ-  
ετήθη ἡ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ δο-  
ύλη Οὐσία, θυγάτ-  
ηρ Τιμοθέου, ἐν  
5 μη(νὶ) Δαισίου αἰ', τοῦ κα-  
τὰ Γαζ(αίους) γκχ', ἰν-  
δ(ικτιῶνος) αἰ'. +

**Date:** 11 Daisios 623 G.E., 11th ind. = 5 June AD 563.

133. *GAZA* stele  
Bibl. Glucker, pp. 128-31, no. 14; *SEG* 37 (1987), pp. 466-67, no. 1485.

-----  
ΠΡΩΤΟΡΟΝΟCΩΦΙΛΕΒΟΥΛ..  
ὃς τελέων σταδίοισιν  
ἀεθλοφόροις ἀγῶνας  
ᾤχετο πρὸς δεκάτῳ  
ἔτος ἑβδομον οὐτι παρελθόν·  
κατετέθη τῇ Ξανθ-  
ικοῦ ζι', τοῦ θκχ' ἔτους,  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β'.

**Date:** 16 Xanthikos 629 G.E., 2nd ind. = 11 April AD 569.

*Comments:* Glucker has inadvertently equated 16 Xanthikos with 12 April instead of 11.

134. *KISSUFIM* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 30 (1980), pp. 482-83, no. 1688.

+ Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ ὠσιωτάτου  
ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου Μισαῆλος καὶ τ(οῦ)  
θεωφιλ <ε>στάτου Θεοδώρου, ἐλέει Θ(εο)ῦ  
διακ(όνου), μοναχ(οῦ), παραμωναρίου κ(αὶ) ἡγο-  
5 υμένου τοῦ ἀγίου Ἡλίου, ἐγένητω ἡ ψή-  
φωσις αὕτη ἐν μηνὶ Λῳφου αἰ',  
τοῦ ζλχ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'.

**Date:** 11 Loos 636 G.E., 9th ind. = 4 August AD 576.

135. *KISSUFIM* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 30 (1980), p. 483, no. 1689.

Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χαριέστ(ατον) ἔργον  
τοῦ ἐνβόλου ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ

αὐτοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου,  
 ἐλέ(ει) Θεοῦ διακό(νου), μοναχ(οῦ) καὶ ἡγουμ(ένου),  
 5 ἡ ψήφωσις αὕτη ἐν μη(νι) Πανήμο(υ)  
 βι', τ[ι]οῦ| ηλχ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) αι'.

**Date:** 12 Panemos 638 G.E., 11th ind. = 6 July AD 578.

136. *GAZA* slab  
 Bibl. Glucker, p. 131, no. 15.

+ Ἀνεπάε  
 ὁ μακάρ(ιος)  
 Σωσέβις  
 ὁ γυψοκ(όπος?), τῇ  
 5 Περιτ(ίου) γι', ζμχ',  
 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'.

**Date:** 13 Peritios 647 G.E., 5th ind. = 7 February AD 587.

137. *TELL EL-AJJUL* slab  
 Bibl. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* IV (London 1934), p. 12, pl. XLI, 153.

--- ΙΑΚΟ ---  
 --- ΕΝΘΑ ---  
 -- ους ξχ' Ε --

**Date:** 660 G.E. = 28 October AD 599 – 27 October AD 600.

138. *GAZA* slab  
 Bibl. Glucker, p. 132, no. 16.

A. + Κατετήθη ἡ  
 δούλη τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Θεο-  
 δώρα, μη(νι) Δαισίου  
 ε', τ(οῦ) βξχ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'.  
 5 B. + Κατετήθη ὁ τοῦ  
 Χ(ριστο)ῦ δοῦλος Ἡλίας,  
 μη(νι) Ὑπερβερετ(αίου) βκ',  
 τοῦ θξχ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γι'.

**Date:** A. 5 Daisios 662 G.E., 5th ind. = 30 May AD 602.

B. 22 Hyperberetaios 669 G.E., 13th ind. = 19 October AD 609.

139. *GAZA* slab  
 Bibl. Glucker, pp. 132-33, no. 17.

+ Σῆμα καταθέσεως σώματ(ος)  
 τῆς τοῦ Χρ[ι]στοῦ δούλης

Ἀναστασίας, ἐν μ(ηνι) Λόο[υ]  
αἰ', τ[οῦ] ζοχ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'.

**Date:** 11 Loos 676 G.E., 4th ind. = 4 August AD 616.

140. *ES-SAWÂFÎR EL-GHARBÎYE* slab  
Bibl. Unpublished. Israel Antiquities Authority.

-----  
[ --- ]OC KAI [ ---- ]  
μη(νι) Ἀπελλα[ίου -- ]  
γκψ' ἔτου[ς].

**Date:** Apellaios 723 G.E. = 27 November – 26 December AD 662.

## 10. Gaba

According to the ancient sources (especially Josephus, *Antiq.* 15.8.5-294 and *War* 3.2.4-36)<sup>123</sup>, Gaba was situated in the western part of the “Great Plain” (the plain of Esdraelon), near Carmel and the border of Galilee. However, the question of its precise location has long detained the scholars who made various, sometimes doubtful, suggestions about its position.<sup>124</sup> Only lately A. Siegelmann,<sup>125</sup> followed by G. Schmitt,<sup>126</sup> proposed a rather convincing identification of Gaba with Tell Shosh (Tell Abbu Shusha) near Kibbutz Mishmar Ha’Emek, based mainly on recent discoveries and the re-examination of the literary evidence.

The only dated epigraphical evidence concerning Gaba is a lead weight recently found in a cave of Tell Shosh<sup>127</sup> mentioning the city name ΓΑΒΗ and a year numeral CIH (inscr. no. 141). A hint for the epoch of the era used in Gaba is furnished by a series of coins bearing the inscription Κλαυδι(έων) Φιλιπ(πέων) Γαβηνῶν, running from Claudius to Elagabalus and dated according to an era 61 or 60 BC.<sup>128</sup> Although some scholars believe that the titles on the coins allude to a city Gaba belonging to the territory of the tetrarch Philip,<sup>129</sup> it seems more plausible that these refer to L. Marcus Philippus,<sup>130</sup> proconsul of Syria in 61-60 BC (before Gabinius), who probably rebuilt the city – as is also the case in Gaza – and connected his name with its “Pompeian” era.

123. G. Schmitt, “Gaba, Getta und Gintikirmil” in *ZDPV* 103 (1987), pp. 22-48 gives a detailed account of all the literary, numismatic and epigraphical evidence about Gaba.

124. *Ibid.*, where he re-evaluates all the identifications proposed at various periods.

125. A. Siegelmann, “The Identification of Gaba Hippeon”, *PEQ* 116 (1984), pp. 89-93.

126. See *supra* note 123.

127. A. Siegelmann and M. Lin, “Mishmar Ha’Emek-Tell Shush”, *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 76 (1981), p. 15.

128. Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 165, note 421; Siegelmann (*supra* note 125), p. 89; Schmitt (*supra* note 123), pp. 28-29.

129. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 370; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 165, note 422; Schmitt (*supra* note 123), p. 29, note 19.

130. Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 165, note 422; Siegelmann (*supra* note 125), p. 89; Schmitt (*supra* note 123), p. 29.



141. *GABA (Tell Shosh?)* lead weight  
Bibl. *SEG* 37 (1987), p. 464, no. 1480.

Γάβη,  
ση',  
HC.

**Date:** 218 E.Gab. = Fall (?) AD 157(158) – fall (?) AD 158(159).

## 11. Raphia

There is one dated inscription said to have come from the territory of Raphia. Raphia (Tell Rafah) was the southwesternmost city of Palaestina Prima in the border area with Egypt. It was a town off a harbourless shore.<sup>131</sup> According to Josephus it was rebuilt by Gabinius.<sup>132</sup> Ample evidence for the fixing of the epoch of the era is furnished by the city coinage. The time of the Gabinian restoration, 57 BC<sup>133</sup> or – not so rightly – 58 BC,<sup>134</sup> is thought a satisfactory epoch to convert the era dates and have them in concordance with the reign of the individual emperors portrayed.

However, a date (year 281) appearing on coins of both Elagabalus and Severus Alexander<sup>135</sup> can be accommodated in their successive reigns only if it is converted according to an era beginning in fall of 60 BC.<sup>136</sup> The remainder of the numismatic material reconciles also with this starting point. It is then plausible, as Hill correctly observed, that this epoch was influenced by that of Gaza.

Unfortunately, the unique dated inscription from the Raphia area (no. 142) does not offer a conclusive hint for the calendar employed by the era. Nevertheless, one can conjecture that it must have been an Egypto-Macedonian one (like that of Gaza). Interestingly enough, the month recorded is named according to the Egyptian fashion.<sup>137</sup> Whether this was a standard practice or an isolated instance due in both cases to the proximity of the city to Egyptian territory,<sup>138</sup> is unknown. It is also noteworthy that the numerals (year and month) of the dating formula are in ascending order, while those showing the age of the deceased are in descending order.

142. *RAPHIA (area of)* slab  
Bibl. D. Barag, *IEJ* 24 (1974), pp. 128-31.

Ἔτους οὐ', μη-  
νὸς Μεχίρ β',  
Ἀβλᾶβιος Ἀβα-  
βίλου, ἐτῶν  
5 ξγ'. Θάρσι, οὐ-  
δὲς ἀθά(νατος).

**Date:** 12 Mechir 470 R.E. = 6 February AD 411.

131. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 151; Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 97-98.

132. Josephus, *Antiq.* 14.5.3-88; idem, *War* 1.8.4-166.

133. *RE* I, 1 (1893), col. 650, s.v. Aera (W. Kubitschek); Ginzler, *Handbuch* III, p. 49; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 98.

134. Saulcy, pp. 237-40.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

136. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 358, note 2.

137. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 166-68.

138. D. Barag, "An Epitaph of the Early Fifth Century A.D. from the Raphia Area", *IEJ* 24 (1974), p. 129.

## Chapter 6

### ERA OF ACCO – PTOLEMAIS

Acco on the Phoenician coast was a significant city already in pre-Hellenistic times. The city flourished in the age of Alexander (under the name of “Ἀκη”, Ake) and later under the Ptolemies (261-219 BC) and the Seleucids (219-106 BC) and probably benefited by Caesar’s activity in the area (spring 47 BC).<sup>1</sup>

The arguments for the chronological systems employed in Acco-Ptolemais are drawn from the abundant coinage of the city. Based on it, J. Rouvier<sup>2</sup> suggested the successive and in one case overlapping use of the following four eras:

a) *Era of Alexander the Great*, from fall 332 BC (epoch) to 281 BC, attested on tetradrachms.

b) *Era of the Seleucids* (epoch 312/1 BC), adopted after Phoenicia’s definite subjection to Seleucid control in 198 BC (Antiochos III). It was replaced by the Caesarean era. Coins bearing portraits of Seleucid monarchs furnish dates according to this era.

c) *Era of Antiochos IV*, introduced by the colonies founded by him. This era, starting from 174 BC, is deduced from the double date of an Augustan coin.

d) *Caesarean era*, established on the occasion of Caesar’s presence in the area. A city year numeral (99) on a coin, corresponding to Claudian’s eleventh ruling year, fixed the epoch of the era in fall 48 BC.

According to Rouvier’s classification the succession of the eras of Ptolemais is analogous to that of Tyre. Later other scholars seriously questioned the existence and/or the duration of the first three eras.<sup>3</sup>

Most scholars have placed the epoch of the Caesarean era of Ptolemais in the autumn of 48 BC.<sup>4</sup> Seyrig’s assumption for the year 48 BC<sup>5</sup> – on analogy to the

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1. Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 121-25.

2. J. Rouvier, “Ptolémaïs-Acè: ses noms et ses ères sous les Séleucides et la domination romaine avant sa transformation en colonie romaine (198 av. J.-C. – 54 ans après J.-C.)”, *RB* 8 (1899), pp. 399-408; A. Blanchet, “Bulletin bibliographique”, *RN* 4th ser. 4 (1900), pp. 251-52; R.N. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd ed. (London 1977), pp. 793-94; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 216.

3. Ginzel (*Handbuch* III, p. 47) expressed reservations regarding the Seleucid and the Antiochene eras; E.T. Newell (*The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake* [Yale Oriental Series, *Researches* vol. II, New Haven-London-Oxford 1916], pp. 55-60) demonstrated that the dates on the Alexander numismatic issues of Acco are regnal years of a local dynast reckoned from 347 BC. The same scholar in his book, *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 84, New York 1939), pp. 35-40, suggested the year 106 BC as the end of the Seleucid dominion in Ptolemais, on the basis of the absence of further coin evidence and Josephus’ statement (*Antiq.* 13.12.2-324-329) that neither the Seleucids Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus nor the city’s inhabitants considered each other friends or allies at that time.

4. N. Makhoul and C.N. Johns, *Guide to Acre*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem 1946), p. 13; L. Kadman, *The Coins of Akko Ptolemais* (Jerusalem 1961), p. 21; Seyrig (infra note 5, *RN* 6th ser. 4 [1962]), p. 33.

5. H. Seyrig, “Antiquités syriennes 42. Sur les ères de quelques villes de Syrie: Antioche, Apamée, Aréthuse, Balanée, Epiphanie, Laodicée, Rhosos, Damas, Béryste, Tripolis, l’ère de Cleopâtre, Chalcis du Liban, Doliché”, *Syria* 27 (1950), pp. 26-32; idem, “Antiquités syriennes 56. Eres pompéiennes des villes de Phénicie”, *Syria* 31 (1954), pp. 74-75, note 5. Later Seyrig (“Le monnayage de Ptolémaïs en Phénicie”,

situation in Laodicea – is plausible but not decisive for the epoch of the era. On the same analogy Schürer based his hypothesis concerning an era reckoned from 48 BC but established in 47 BC and thus backdated to the previous autumn.<sup>6</sup>

A careful examination of the numismatic and epigraphic evidence, however, suggests an epoch for the Caesarean era of Ptolemais in autumn 49 BC. The coin, quoted by Rouvier, places the departure of the era equally in autumn 49 or 48 BC. Another coin, bearing similarly a double date (15th year of the city/3rd regnal year of Cleopatra)<sup>7</sup>, offers the decisive clue that the era started in autumn 49 BC. A further confirmation of the numismatic data towards an epoch of 49 BC is provided by a full dating formula of a mosaic inscription (no. 4) recently found in a church of Ḥorvat Ḥesheq, a village in the northeastern border of the territory of Acco. Conversion of the given date (April of the year 582, 12th indiction) on the basis of the era of Acco was rejected by the editor of the inscription due to incongruity among the dating elements. Therefore, she was urged to suggest (with reservation due to the location of the site) the Scythopolitan era as the one involved. But the editor's failure to reconcile the dating particles resulted from taking 48 BC as epoch for the era.

An inscription (no. 5) from Karmiel in Galilee mentioning the erection of a church is dated according to an unspecified era. The inverted year numeral (an interesting combination of ordinal and cardinal numbers) implies an era of those introduced during the first century BC (Pompeian, Gabinian or Caesarean). Karmiel (Khirbet Bât es-Sîh) belongs nowadays to the subdistrict of Acco.<sup>8</sup> The site lay in the border area between the ancient territories of Ptolemais and Diocaesarea.<sup>9</sup> There is not, however, enough evidence to support its assignment to the jurisdiction of one city or the other. But reckoning according to the Caesarean era of Ptolemais (49 BC) is compatible with the chronological data of the inscription.

The three fifth century AD mosaic inscriptions (nos. 1-3) of a Christian church at 'Evron, a town within the territory of Ptolemais supposedly dated according to the Caesarean era of Ptolemais, cannot furnish any evidence since they do not mention indiction years. These inscriptions record reversed year numerals as well as the month, once according to the Macedonian fashion (no. 1) and once in compliance with the Roman mode (no. 2). The use of the Roman month in inscription no. 2 as well as in inscription no. 4 is important for the discussion regarding the distribution of this calendar. It is noteworthy that a little to the north Tyre did not make use of Roman months until the early seventh century AD (the date of its latest extant dated inscription). With respect to the nature of the calendar of Ptolemais in the time the inscriptions are dated, one could propose a calendar utilizing Macedonian nomenclature of 30 and 31 days, as was the case in Tyre and eventually in Caesarea.<sup>10</sup>

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RN 6th ser. 4 [1962], pp. 31-32) argued also for a Pompeian era inaugurated in 63 BC. On the issue that an era to commemorate the city's autonomy occurred somewhere between 104/3 and 63 BC, see V. Kontorini, "L'autonomie de Ptolémaïs - Akko de Phénicie", *RN* 6th ser. 21 (1979), pp. 30-42.

6. Schürer, *HJP* II, pp. 124-25.

7. Seyrig (supra note 5, *RN* 6th ser. 4 [1962]), pp. 34-35, no. 20.

8. *Schedule of Historical Monuments and Sites*, Supplement no. 2 in the Palestine Gazette Extraordinary no. 1375 of 24th November 1944, see entry "Bât es Sîh, Kh."

9. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 131, map 10.

10. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, "Le calendrier employé par Eusèbe de Césarée dans les martyrs de Palestine", *AnalBoll* 96 (1978), pp. 59-60, 63-64.

1. *EVRON* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *EI* 19 (1987), *M. Avi-Yonah Memorial Volume*, p. 44\*, no. 7.

----- ΨΟ  
----- ΒΛΠ  
----- Δύσ-  
τρου, ἔτους γξν', ἐπὶ  
5 --- CXOY ἐπισκ(όπου)  
-- EOY χωρεπισκ(όπου)  
[Σαμ]άκωνος πρε-  
σβ(υτέρου), Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀρ-  
[χιδι]ακόνου Ζαδάκων  
10 -- Εὐθαλίου κ(αὶ) Η  
-- ΗCOY διακ(όνων), Μαξίμω[νος]  
[Γε]ράσωνος ὑπ[ο]διακ(όνων)  
(κ)αὶ Ἰωάννου, Δομνίν-  
[ο]υ, Γερμανοῦ τῶν  
15 [ἀν]αγνωστῶν. Ϟ  
[Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χρ(ιστ)έ, μνήσκου τ-  
[οῦ] δούλου σου Ἰουλ-  
[ι]ανοῦ καὶ Παύλου  
τοῦ ψηφοθέτου Ϟ  
Ϟ  
20 KEM----- ΛΟΥ  
Ι Στρατηγίου.

Date: Dystros 463 E.Pt. = Spring AD 415.

2. *EVRON* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *EI* 19 (1987), *M. Avi-Yonah Memorial Volume*, p. 42\*, no. 5.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου) καὶ θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Παύλου  
καὶ ἐπὶ  
τοῦ εὐλαβ(εστάτου) Σαμάκωνος πρεσβ(υτέρου) τῆς κώμης καὶ ἐπὶ Μαρ-  
κέλλου ἀρχιδ(ιακόνου)  
καὶ ἐ<π>ὶ τῶν διακό(νων) Ἰουλιανός, Ἀντών(ιος), Εἰνεουάρις, Σι-  
λουανός,  
Δομνίνος, Ἀλέξων, ..υβίνος, Διόδωρος, Μαρῖνος, Σάλλου, Σαμάκων,  
5 Νάαμω, CAΩ...ΘΥΛ. Βαράχων· ὑποδιάκονες Γερμανός,  
Ἀρίων, Σαβῖνος, [Κ]ηριακός, Ἀβδά· ἀναγνώστες Ἡρωδιαν(ός),  
Ἀλέξων, Μαρῖνος, Εὐθαλῖς· ἐψηφώθη ἡ ἀγιοτάτη ἐκκλησία  
ἐπὶ Αἰῶνος διακόνου κὲ ἐπὶ Βάσσου ὑποδιακόνου, ἔτους  
αζν', ἐν μηνὶ Φιββαρίου δεκάτῃ.

Date: 10 February 491 E.Pt. = 10 February AD 443.

3. *EVRON* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. V. Tzaferis, *EI* 19 (1987), *M. Avi-Yonah Memorial Volume*, p. 45\*, no. 8.

['Ο Θ]εὸς  
[τοῦ ἁ]γίου οἴκου  
[βοήθησο]ν τοὺς δούλ(ους)  
[Παύ]λου, Νοά-  
5 [μου, Σαμά]κονος  
[καὶ] Διοδ[ώρου]  
πρεσβ(υτέρων), Σάλλου καὶ  
Νόνε εὐχα-  
ριστῶντης (sic)  
10 τὸν Κύριον,  
ἔτους ηλφ'.

Date: 538 E.Pt. = Fall AD 489 – fall AD 490.

4. *HORVAT HESHEQ* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. L. Di Segni in G.C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and E. Alliata (eds.), *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land. New Discoveries (SBFCollM 36, Jerusalem 1990)*, pp. 382-84, no. 3.

+ Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Δημητρίου διακ(όνου)  
κα(ὶ) Γεοργίου υἱοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴ-  
κου αὐτῶν ἐτελιώθη τὸ πᾶν ἔργω(ν)  
ἐν μην(ὶ) Ἀπριλίου, τοῦ πβφ' ἔτους, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ'.

Date: April 582 E.Pt., 12th ind. = April AD 534.

5. *KARMIEL (Khirbet Bât es-Sîh)* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Unpublished. Israel Antiquities Authority.

+ Ἐκτίσθη ἡ ἀρχ[ία]  
ἡ κλησία, ἔτους ἡνονι-  
κροστοῦ φ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε', ἐπὶ τοῦ  
θεωφιλησιτάτου ἐπ[ισκ(όπου) ἡμ[ῶν]  
5 Στεφάνου (καὶ) [τοῦ θεοσ]εβεστ(άτου)  
[-----] ΘΕΩ  
[-----] ΝΤ  
[-----]

Date: 590 E.Pt., 5th ind. = Fall AD 541 – 31 August AD 542.

## Chapter 7

### ERA OF SAMARIA – SEBASTE

The city of Samaria, an important fortress,<sup>1</sup> was colonized by Alexander the Great with Macedonian veterans.<sup>2</sup> Later it was destroyed and restored many times during the struggles under the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. Pompey<sup>3</sup> liberated it from the Jews and Gabinius<sup>4</sup> reconstructed it. Herod the Great<sup>5</sup> enlarged it by transferring six thousand colonists there and by renewing its fortifications. Since Herod had been granted this city by Octavian,<sup>6</sup> he renamed it Sebaste as a sign of gratitude to the emperor who had received the title of Augustus on 16 January 27 BC. Septimius Severus proclaimed Sebaste a Roman colony.<sup>7</sup>

Josephus' indirect statement<sup>8</sup> that the city was lavishly restored in the thirteenth year of Herod the Great (25/24 BC) urged some numismatists to choose 25 BC as the epoch of the era<sup>9</sup> for the dates furnished by the city coinage are also compatible with this epoch.

The city era of Samaria could justifiably be associated with its renaming into Sebaste which could also have coincided with the official rebuilding of the city. This would imply that its foundation could be placed after 16 January 27 BC and its epoch backdated in the autumn of 28 BC,<sup>10</sup> since the use of a Syro-Macedonian calendar is quite possible. The Samaritan numismatic evidence does not contradict such a reckoning basis.<sup>11</sup>

Only three inscriptions from Samaria-Sebaste are dated according to the city era. In fact, the year numeral is the only dating element. It is inscribed in ascending order on a vase (no. 1) and on a base (no. 3), while in descending order on a lead weight (no. 2). A combination of ordinal (for units) and cardinal numerals (for tens and hundreds) between the article and the word “ἔτος” is noteworthy for the dating formula of inscription no. 3.

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1. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, p. 94; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 161.

2. Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 160, note 397.

3. Josephus, *Antiq.* 14.4.4-75; idem, *War* 1.7.7-156.

4. Idem, *Antiq.* 14.5.3-88; idem, *War* 1.8.4-166.

5. Idem, *Antiq.* 15.8.5-296-298; idem, *War* 1.21.2-403.

6. Idem, *Antiq.* 15.7.3-217; idem, *War* 1.20.3-396; G.F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galilee, Samaria and Judaea* (London 1914), pp. xxxvii-xxxix; Schürer, *HJP* I, p. 290, note 9; idem, *HJP* II, p. 163 and note 410.

7. Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 163, note 413.

8. Josephus, *Antiq.* 15.8.5-296-298 and 15.9.1-299.

9. Saulcy, p. 277; Hill (supra note 6), p. xxxix; R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, *Josephus. Jewish Antiquities. Books XV-XVII*, 2nd ed., vol. 8 (*Loeb Classical Library* 1969), p. 143, note e; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 163.

10. Hill (supra note 6), p. xxxviii.

11. Ibid., p. xxxix.

1. *SAMARIA-SEBASTE* shoulder of amphora  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 17, no. 104.

**Λ Θκ', ΑΠΑΞΑΠ**

**Date:** 29 E.S. = Fall (?) AD 1 – fall AD 2.

2. *SAMARIA-SEBASTE* lead weight  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 17, no. 99.

**Φαν(ίου)  
Αιν(έου) ι(ερέως?),  
(έτους) πη'.**

**Date:** 88 E.S. = Fall (?) AD 60 – fall AD 61.

3. *SAMARIA-SEBASTE* fragment of a base  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 16, no. 97.

**|- - Φ|ιλοχάρης Φιλοχάρου - -  
|- - |ΩΝ, τὸ ἐν ξρ' έτος.**

**Date:** 161 E.S. = Fall (?) AD 133 – fall AD 134.

## Chapter 8

### ERA OF CAESAREA PHILIPPI (PANEAS)

Augustus bestowed the Hellenized area of Paneas on Herod the Great in 20 BC. After Herod's death in 4 BC his son, the tetrarch Philip, built there a city named Caesarea (Caesarea Philippi or later, in the third century AD, Caesarea Paneas) and made it the capital of his realm.<sup>1</sup> The era of the city should have been inaugurated at that time. Its epoch can be fixed in the year 3 BC on the grounds of the numismatic material.<sup>2</sup> Since 3 BC is quite possibly the year of the city's foundation – which in its turn could reasonably have been commemorated through a city era – one would tend to choose it as the era's epoch. An inscription from El-Quneitra (no. 4), however, dated by month, year and indiction – assuming that it employed the era of Paneas for the reckoning of the years and a calendar starting in fall with or before Dios suggests an epoch for the era of Paneas in fall of 2 BC.

**The inscriptions:** Of the inscriptions classified under the era of Paneas some have problematic year numerals and/or come from areas tentatively ascribed to the territorial jurisdiction of Caesarea Paneas.

There is a dedicatory inscription from Caesarea Paneas (no. 1) bearing a date most likely according to this era. Waddington gave the numerical figures in a strange order: hundreds, units, tens. But the earlier reading in *CIG* no. 4539 and Addenda, p. 1180, shows that they were arranged in the descending scheme. Waddington also read a date in a quite uncertain last line of another dedicatory text inscribed on the rock of Pan's cave.<sup>3</sup> R.E. Brünnow assumed as well the existence of a plain year numeral at the end of a third inscription also carved on the rock of Pan's grotto.<sup>4</sup> Both readings are extremely problematic and their involvement in the discussion about the chronological system of Paneas makes the whole issue very obscure.

Two inscriptions from El-Quneitra (nos. 4-5) and two from the nearby village to the southeast called Surramān (nos. 2-3) include dating formulae. Their dates have

1. Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 169; Y. Meshorer, "The Coins of Caesarea Paneas", *INJ* 8 (1984-1985), p. 37; D. Urman, *The Golan (BAR-S 269, Oxford 1985)*, pp. 117, 120.
2. The coins of Macrinus and Diadumenian – who reigned from April AD 217 to June AD 218 – bearing the era year 220 and those of the first year of Elagabalus' rule, recording the era year 221, provide the clearest evidence on the matter. For this subject see Saulcy, pp. 317, 322-23; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 47; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 216; Schürer, *HJP* II, p. 170; Meshorer (*supra* note 1), pp. 40, 53-54.
3. Waddington, p. 451, no. 1893: Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν κυρίων / Αὐτοκρατόρων, / Οὐαλέριος [Τίτι]ανός, ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Πανός, τὴν / κυρία[ν Νέμ]εσιν καὶ τὸν [σ]ὺν τῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κοίταν/θείσῃ πέ <τ> ρα τελεσιουργ[η-θέ]ντα [σηκ]ὸν αὐτῆς, / [σὺν κ]ανκέλλω σιδηρῷ, / [ἐτους] .π., Ἀπε[λλαίου]. For a different reading see *CIG* III, p. 244, no. 4537.
4. R.E. Brünnow, "Reisebericht", *MNDPV* 4 (1898), p. 84, no. 6: Πανί τε καὶ Νύμφαις, / Μαίης γόνον, ἐνθ' ἀνέθη/κεν Ἑρμείαν, Διὸς υἱόν, / εἰ[κασ]μέ[νο]ν πέτρῃ. Οὐί/κτωρ Λυσι[μ]άχου παυ/σί συνευξάμενος, ρν'. For a different reading especially of the last line see *CIG* III, pp. 1179-80, no. 4538b and Waddington, p. 451, no. 1891.



been calculated according to various eras (era of provincia Arabia,<sup>5</sup> Pompeian era<sup>6</sup> and era of Caesarea Paneas<sup>7</sup>). There is no firm evidence as to whose territory these settlements belonged.

A hint for ascribing El-Quneitra to Phoenicia and therefore in the region of Caesarea Philippi is furnished by an inscription mentioning a high official responsible for the pacification in Phoenicia.<sup>8</sup> This inscription as well as inscription no. 4 are considered as epitaphs marking the tomb of the leader and the "polyandron" of the soldiers fallen in the same battle, respectively.<sup>9</sup> The joint interpretation of these burial texts is brilliant, but its truth relies on the reading. The relation of El-Quneitra to Phoenicia is more tenable due to the clearer wording of the relevant phrase (τὴν Φ/οινίκην/ ἱρηνεύσα/ς).

The first of the El-Quneitra inscriptions, an epitaph (no. 4), is dated by year, month and indiction. The numerals are introduced by the respective abbreviated clause: "ἔτους", "μ(ηνός)", "ἰνδ(ικτιώνος)". The year numeral is inverted, alluding rather to a city era than to the era of provincia Arabia. The indiction year is inverted too, while the month day is expressed in descending order. The month nomenclature follows the Macedonian fashion. The month order as well as the beginning of the year cycle (probably in fall) must have been analogous to the current calendar types in the area.

According to Gildemeister's reading, the year numeral of the second inscription from El-Quneitra (no. 5) is also arranged in an odd order with the hundreds figure inserted between the units and the tens: ΒΦΟ. However, in view of the inverted numeral recording the age of the deceased and the effaced last line of the text, it would be more appropriate to dissociate the third letter, Ο, from the year numeral group.

The inscriptions from Surramān are epitaphs. The earlier (no. 2) records the dedication of a tomb erected by an imperial body-guard for his father. The sole dating particle, the year numeral, is written in descending order. The later epitaph (no. 3) marked the burial of a high priest (ἀρχιερεύς), a title usually linked with pagan cult. Its partially preserved year numeral is inverted, in contrast to no. 2. The conversion of the years in the inscriptions from Surramān on the basis of the era of Paneas results in reasonable dates. Thus, the use of the era of Paneas in the ancient site located in Surramān reasonably supports the ascription of the latter to the territory of Caesarea Paneas.

5. G. Dalman, "Inscriben aus dem Ostjordanland nebst einem Anhang über einige andere Inschriften", *ZDPV* 36 (1913), pp. 252-53, no. 7; *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 47, no. 249. Against R.E. Brünnow, "Zu Dalman, Inschriften aus dem Ostjordanland", *ZDPV* 37 (1914), p. 151, no. 7, who reckoned by the Seleucid era.

6. G. Dalman, "Inscriben aus Palästina", *ZDPV* 37 (1914), p. 140, no. 14, pl. XLI, 14.

7. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 162, no. 249, in contrast to p. 47, no. 249, where the era of provincia Arabia is used.

8. F. M. Abel, "Inscriptions grecques d'el-Qounêtrah", *RB* 4 (1907), pp. 409-10, no. 2: --- /AC ὡς ἡρ/ως τὴν Φ/οινίκην / ἱρηνεύσα/ς. Θάψι Ζ/ηνόδωρ/ε, ἐτῶν/ με', ἔτους/ ---; Avi Yonah, *Holy Land*, pp. 164-66.

9. H. Seyrig, "Inscriptions grecques de l' Institute de Damas", *Syria* 6 (1925), pp. 221-22, no. 4.

1. *BANIAS* (*Caesarea Philippi*) rock inscription  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 451, no. 1894.

Ἀγρίππα <ς>  
Μά <ρκ> ου ἄρ-  
χων, ἔτους  
σκγ', ὀνίρω  
5 χρισμο-  
δο[τη]θείς,  
τ <ήν> κ[υρία]ν  
Ἡχῶ ἀνέθη-  
κεν ἅμα <Ἀ> γρι-  
10 πιάδι συμ[β]ί-  
ψ και Ἀγριππί-  
νω και Μάρ-  
κω και Ἀγρίπ-  
πα, βουλευταῖ(ς),  
15 και Ἀγριππείνη  
και Δόμνη, τέ-  
κνοις αὐτῶν.

**Date:** 223 E.Pan. = Fall AD 219 – fall AD 220.

2. *SURRAMAN* tombstone  
Bibl. G. Dalman, *ZDPV* 37 (1914), p. 139, no. 8.

Μνήμης ἔνεκα τὸ μεμό-  
ριον ζῶν ἀνέθετο Σώ-  
πατρος, προτήκτωρ, Κυρί-  
λλω πατρὶ ἀπὸ τριβούνω-  
5 ν, ἔτι τξ'.

**Date:** 360 E.Pan. = Fall AD 356 – fall AD 357.

*Comments:* Dalman converted this date according to the era of provincia Arabia whereas he assumed a Pompeian era for inscription no. 3, coming also from Surramān.

3. *SURRAMAN* tombstone  
Bibl. G. Dalman, *ZDPV* 37 (1914), p. 140, no. 14.

Ἐνθάδ-  
ε κῆτε Ὁ-  
γεος Μο-  
νέμου, ἀ-  
5 ρχι <ε> ρ(εύς), ἐτ(ῶν)  
νε', ἔτ(ους) δλν'.  
Θάρσι, οὐδ(εῖς)  
[ἀθάνατος].

**Date:** 434 E.Pan. = Fall AD 430 – fall AD 431.

*Comments:* Dalman claimed that he converted the year numeral according to “the Pompeian era”. But in equating 434 E.Pan. with AD 384, he assumed an era starting in 50 BC, an epoch incompatible with any Pompeian era.

4. *EL-QUNEITRA* stele  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 47, no. 249.

Ἀσφ(τοι) πά-  
ντες, ἐτ(ῶν)  
μ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
εἰ', ἔτους  
5 γξϛ', μ(ηνός) Αὐ-  
δυ(ναίου) ιθ'.

**Date:** 19 Audynaioi 463 E.Pan., 15th ind. = December AD 461 or January AD 462.

*Comments:* The concordance among the dating elements of this inscription presupposes an epoch of 2 BC, probably in fall. Although the exact calendaric start of Caesarea Paneas is not known, Audynaioi could be placed either in December or January. In the former case, the date would be December AD 461 and in the latter January AD 462. G. Dalman (*ZDPV* 36 [1913], p. 253) converted the year according to the era of provincia Arabia. But in his attempt to harmonize era and indiction year he wrongly accepted AD 105 as epoch of that era.

5. *EL-QUNEITRA* stele  
Bibl. G. Schumacher, *ZDPV* 9 (1886), pp. 306-307; J. Gildemeister, *ZDPV* 11 (1888), p. 41, no. 3.

Α † Ω  
Κ(ύρι)ε ἀνά-  
παυσον  
τὸν δοῦ(λον)  
Γεώρ(γιον),  
5 ἐνθάδε  
κῖται, ἐ(τῶν) βκ',  
ἔ(τους) βφ' ΟΑ  
[.ca.<sup>5</sup>.]

**Date:** 502 E.Pan. = Fall AD 498 – fall AD 499.

*Comments:* Gildemeister reckoned the year according to the Seleucid era, but the text is not consonant with such an early date.

## Chapter 9

### ERA OF THE PROVINCE OF ARABIA

**The era and its historical outline:** The era in question is a provincial era<sup>1</sup> inaugurated immediately after the incorporation of the Nabataean kingdom into the Roman empire, decreed by the emperor Trajan and resulting in the creation of provincia Arabia.<sup>2</sup> According to the Roman historians Dio Cassius (lxviii.14.5) and Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv.8.13) the land extending east of Palestine to the Red Sea, including the cities of Petra in the south and Bostra in the north, was subdued by the governor of the province of Syria, Cornelius Palma, and brought under Roman rule. This district was given the name of a province, assigned a governor and compelled to obey the laws of Trajan. Since this event was set by the *Chronicon Paschale* in the consulship of Candidus and Quadratus (AD 105),<sup>3</sup> 22 March AD 105 was taken as starting point for the era. However, the overwhelming majority of the dated inscriptions from the provinces of Arabia and Third Palestine and the dated documents in the Naḥal Ḥever (En Geddi) archive point to the fact that the reckoning basis for the era of the province of Arabia is certainly 22 March AD 106.<sup>4</sup> This era was not imposed by the Romans, but was acknowledged by them. Rather, it was introduced by the local authorities as a new reckoning convention to commemorate the abandonment of the monarchy and the altered situation under Roman rule.<sup>5</sup>

The inscriptions as well as the documents dated by the era of the new province furnish indirect evidence for the extent and the boundaries of this province.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the combination of the known political rearrangements in the area along with the dated inscriptions found in the districts under consideration constitute a valuable principle in ascribing the various regions to Syria or Arabia for the period between the formation of the province of Arabia (AD 106) and its conquest by the Muslims (AD 636-640). This practice cannot, of course, be entirely reliable, since the border regions could easily exchange chronological systems and the movable inscriptions

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1. Freeman (see infra note 5, pp. 38-46) has argued that this era cannot be called "provincial", since a) the founders of the province, i.e. the Romans, did not impose it as an official dating device and b) there were other local eras operating concurrently with it. From this point of view Freeman's denunciation regarding the term "provincial" is reasonable. However, we maintain the name "era of the province of Arabia" since it demonstrates the geographical distribution of the era and is part of its ancient designation encountered both in the inscriptions and other documents.
  2. A.G. Wright, "Syria and Arabia", *PEFQS* 1895, p. 71; Ginzler, *Handbuch* III, p. 49; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 214; Z.T. Fiema, "The Era of Bostra. A Reconsideration", *XXXV Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna 1988* (Ravenna 1988), p. 109.
  3. Dindorf, p. 472: "Πετραῖοι καὶ Βοστρηνοὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν χρόνους ἀριθμοῦσι" (Ol. 221, 1 = AD 105). For a probable transposition of this entry by a copyist under AD 105 instead of 106 see H.I. MacAdam, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Arabia* (BAR-S 295, Oxford 1986), p. 35, note 61.
  4. Spijkerman, *Coins*, p. 20, note 53; MacAdam (supra note 3), pp. 34-36; Fiema (supra note 2), p. 109 and note 1.
  5. Ph. Freeman, "The Era of the Province of Arabia: Problems and Solution?" in MacAdam (supra note 3), pp. 40-46.
  6. Wright (supra note 2), p. 74; G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1983), pp. 99-100; Freeman (supra note 5), p. 40, note 5.

(in contrast to those embedded in walls or pavements) could be found away from their original location and context.<sup>7</sup>

The Negev and the Sinai peninsula were assigned to the province of Arabia from the very beginning, as the term “year ... of the eparchy” accompanying the dating numerals in the Nabataean inscriptions uncovered there indicates.<sup>8</sup> A bilingual (Graeco-Nabataean) epitaph from Madaba, as well as the Greek and Nabataean papyri from the Cave of the Letters, using a triple dating system (consulships, regnal years of Hadrian and the era of the province of Arabia: “κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς νέας ἐπαρχείας Ἀραβίας”)<sup>9</sup> show that Moab and Edom were parts of the province, too. A number of Decapolitan cities (Gerasa, Philadelphia, Canatha, Dion, Adraa) were also brought under the control of the Roman governors of Arabia,<sup>10</sup> although not all of them made use of the era of the province. The late Nabataean capitals of Bostra in the north and Petra in the south were also included in the provincial territory.<sup>11</sup>

Provincia Arabia was later given N. Hauranitis, Trachonitis and Batanaea. The detachment of these regions from Syria and their annexation to Arabia had been ascribed to a reorganization of the Roman empire by Diocletian in AD 295.<sup>12</sup> Lately Sartre<sup>13</sup> and Bowersock,<sup>14</sup> based on the chronological systems, movement of military units, prosopography and other written sources, proposed persuasively that this reform could have occurred already in the time of the Severan dynasty and more specifically between AD 195-214.

During the fourth century AD the southern part of Transjordan was transferred from the jurisdiction of the province of Arabia to that of Palestine. This land was named Palaestina Salutaris in AD 389/392 and Palaestina Tertia from AD 409 onwards.<sup>15</sup> The thus revised province of Arabia as well the Third Palestine continued to use the era of provincia Arabia not only until the Muslim conquest but also throughout the seventh and eighth centuries AD.

The era of the province of Arabia replaced the old Nabataean dating system based upon regnal years and became the prevailing chronological system in the

7. Freeman (supra note 5), pp. 43-44.

8. A. Negev, “The Nabataeans and the Provincia Arabia”, *ANRW* II, 8 (1977), p. 643; Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 36-40; Bowersock (supra note 6), pp. 92-95.

9. A. Negev (supra note 8), pp. 644; Spijkerman, *Coins*, pp. 20-21 and note 53; N. Lewis, “Two Greek Documents from Provincia Arabia”, *ICS* 3 (1978), pp. 100-14. The dating formula of the Greek document dated 11/12 October AD 125 runs: [Ἐτους ἐν]άτου αὐτοκράτορος[ς] Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Μάρκου Οὐαλερίου Ἀσιατικοῦ τὸ β' καὶ Τιτίου Ἀκυλείνου πρὸ τεσφ[ά]/[ρων εἰ]δὼν Ὀκτωβρίων, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς ἐπαρχείας Ἀραβίας ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ, μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου λεγομένου Θεσρεὶ τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκά[δι ...]. That of 19 August AD 132: ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Γαῖου Σεργίου Αὐγορείγου καὶ Πουπλίου Τρεβίου Σεργ[ί]ανο[υ] [π]ρὸ / δεκατεσσάρων καλανδῶν Σεπτεμ[β]ρίων κατὰ τὸν τῆς νέας ἐ[πα]ρχίας Ἀραβί/ας ἀριθμὸν ἔτους ἐβδόμου εἰκοστοῦ, μηνὸς Γορπιαίου πρώτῃ, ἐν Μῶαζα/...

10. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 113; Spijkerman, *Coins*, p. 16; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 47.

11. Spijkerman, *Coins*, pp. 16-17.

12. Waddington, pp. 562-63; Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, pp. 115, 118; Spijkerman, *Coins*, p. 17; J.-M. Dentzer (ed.), *Hauran I. Recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie du Sud à l' époque hellénistique et romaine*, 1st pt. (*BAH* 124, Paris 1985), p. 2.

13. Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 54-64.

14. Bowersock (supra note 6), pp. 114-16.

15. Y. Dan, “Palaestina Salutaris (Tertia) and its Capital”, *IEJ* 32 (1982), p. 135; Fiema (supra note 2), p. 115, note 31 and p. 119; Ph. Mayerson, “Justinian's Novel 103 and the Reorganization of Palestine”, *BASOR* 269 (1988), p. 66.

above mentioned areas. Alternative dating systems (era of Gerasa, era of Philadelphia, era of Philippopolis, Maximianopolis etc.), connected with the history of certain urban centres, were used simultaneously in certain territories within the Arabian province.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, sites under the administrative supervision of the Roman province of Syria dated according to the current year of the ruling emperor's reign or by the Seleucid era.

**Calendar:** Information about the nature of the calendars combined with the era of the province of Arabia is furnished by the inscriptions coming from the provinces of Arabia and Third Palestine,<sup>17</sup> the Nessana papyri as well as by the Hemerologia of Florence, Rome and Leiden.<sup>18</sup>

The most widespread and until the sixth century AD almost unchallenged calendar was a solar one based on the Egypto-Macedonian model as those of Tyre, Gaza and Ascalon.<sup>19</sup> The Graeco-Arabic year had twelve months of thirty days each with five intercalary days placed at its end.<sup>20</sup> The citation of Simplicius:<sup>21</sup> “ἄς δὲ ἡμεῖς ποιούμεθα ἀρχὰς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὲν περὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι... ἢ περὶ ἑαρινὰς ὡς Ἀραβεῖς καὶ Δαμασκηνοί...” suggests that the same calendar was also employed by the citizens of Damascus and that the beginning of the year coincided with the first day of the spring month Xanthikos (=Nisan=22 March). The lists of the Hemerologia prove that the months were named after the Macedonian fashion and ordered in the usual way. The Macedonian names of the 12 months are repeatedly encountered in the inscriptions under discussion.<sup>22</sup> Both the inscriptions and the Hemerologia attest that the month days were numbered in succession, using cardinal numerals in descending order (from α' to λ'). Occasionally ordinals and rarely numerals in ascending order are also met.

St. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* li. 24) mentions two local month names, “Ἀλεώμ” and “Ἀγαθαβαεῖθ”, corresponding to Audynaïos and Dios, respectively.<sup>23</sup> No examples of this type are given by the epigraphic material. Instead, Nabataean months are employed in two inscriptions from the ex-Nabataean cities of 'Avdat (no. 30) and Petra (no. 40). In addition an Egyptian month is recorded on a sixth century tombstone from 'Avdat (no. 287). Finally, Roman month names used sporadically in the sixth and seventh centuries AD, outnumber the Macedonian ones in the eighth century AD. For more details see chapter on the calendars of Palestine and Arabia.

**Conversion rule:** For dates between 22 March and 31 December we add 105, e.g. 20 Apellaios 509 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 6 December AD 614. For those between 1 January and 21 March we add 106, e.g. 9 Dystros 506 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 23 February AD 612.

16. Spijkerman, *Coins*, pp. 316-18; Freeman (supra note 5), pp. 38-39; Fiema (supra note 2), p. 110.

17. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, “Le calendrier dit ‘des Arabes’ à l'époque grecque”, *RAO* VI (1905), pp. 122-25.

18. Kubitschek, *Kalenderbücher*.

19. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 350; Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 34; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 173.

20. Samuel, *GRC*, p. 177 and note 5.

21. Comment. in Aristot. *Phys. Ep.* 875. 19, ed. Diels.

22. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 173 gives a list of the months of the Graeco-Arabic calendar according to the Hemerologion of Florence and a correlation of these months with the Nabataean ones.

23. *Ibid.*

**The inscriptions:** The inscriptions classified under the era of the province of Arabia amount to 531 examples. They have been discovered in various sites of S. Syria and Jordan (mainly in ancient Hauranitis and to a lesser degree in ancient Trachonitis, Batanaea, Belka, Moab) and S. Israel (Negev), namely within the territories of the Roman provinces of Arabia and Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia.

According to the era formula used, the examples are divided into two distinct categories:

a) those giving a plain year numeral and

b) those referring explicitly to the era employed, through the phrases: “ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας”, “ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχίου”, “τοῦ ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας”, “ἐν ἔτι (ῆ) ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας”, “ἔτι ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας”, “τοῦ ἔτους ἡπαρχίας Ἀραβίας ...”, “ἐν ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας) Ἀραβ(ίας)”, “ἔτους ... τῆς Βοσ[τ]ρηνῶν”, “ἔτι ... Βοσ(τρηνῶν/-τρης)”, “κατὰ Βόστρα ἔτους ...”, “κατὰ Ἐλούσην”, “ἔτους ... τῆς πόλεως”.

Only 38 out of 531 inscriptions use the above mentioned formulae.<sup>24</sup> All these phrases are alternative designations for the era of the province of Arabia.

Phrases which link the era with a specific provincial centre show limited use depending on relations between local towns and the centre in question.<sup>25</sup>

The phrase “ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας” (year ... of the province) and its variations are preponderant (33 texts), as one might expect, and is attested from the second down to the eighth centuries AD. The only examples for the second century AD come from Madaba (nos. 1, 5). The majority of the relevant material (nos. 28, 76, 83, 106, 128, 155, 156, 157, 160, 169, 199, 227, 228, 232, 254, 255, 265, 277, 330, 335, 361, 369, 455, 481, 483) representing the third to the eighth centuries AD was found in the areas around and northwards of Bostra and the city itself. A far fewer sites in central Jordan (Belka) have yielded inscriptions using the expression “ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας”: Rihab (nos. 411, 480), Madaba (no. 349), Ras-Siyagha (no. 263), Umm er-Rasas (nos. 387, 526). Some Nabataean inscriptions dated by the era of provincia Arabia refer to it in a manner similar to that of the Greek texts (“year ... of the eparchy”).<sup>26</sup> The era formula of a second century AD inscription from Madaba (no. 5) is exceptional, for it combines the genitive “τῆς ἐπαρχίας” with the emphatical term “ἔτους καταστάσεως” (year of the formation of the province). A mutilated inscription from Main makes use of the same clause to which the name of the province, Ἀραβία[ς], is added.<sup>27</sup> The territorial indication “Ἀραβίας” follows also the era designation in the two above mentioned inscriptions from Umm er-Rasas (nos. 387, 526). Two Greek papyri from Naḥal Ḥever of AD 125 and 132 use this augmented form too.<sup>28</sup>

24. In a few more inscriptions from these regions not preserving the year numeral, the latter was clearly qualified by the phrase “τῆς ἐπαρχίας”. See for example Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 655, nos. 34-35 and M. Piccirillo, *LA* 36 (1986), p. 328, no. 4.

25. Fiema (supra note 2), pp. 116-20.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

27. *SEG* 35 (1985), p. 456, no. 1586; Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 183-84, no. 156:

[---] ἡ αὐλὴ αὐτ[η---]  
[---] ἐν χρόν[οις ---]  
[εὐσεβε]στ[άτου] καὶ ἀγιωτ[άτου] [ἐπισκό] [που]  
[---] οὐ ἐν ἔτι τῆς καταστάσεως  
[τῆς ἐπα]ρχίας Ἀραβία[ς---]  
- Ω Α Χ(ριστό)[ς].

28. Lewis (supra note 9).

There are only three era formulae associated with Bostra found not in the city itself, but around it in Hauranitis and Trachonitis (Umm el-Quttayn no. 38,<sup>29</sup> Harrân no. 158, 'Amra no. 273). The inscriptions from Harrân and 'Amra are dated by indiction year as well, thus it is certain that the era used is that of provincia Arabia. In addition, another inscription from Harrân (no. 160), dated one year later and referring to the same public hostel<sup>30</sup> as that of inscription no. 158, states that the era in question is the "era of the province". The era of the province of Arabia is surely meant. The only reason to connect so expressly the era with Bostra must have been, as Fiema<sup>31</sup> suggested, the political and administrative changes in the relations between Bostra and the regions north of it (which were gradually annexed to the province of Arabia) as well as the political elevation of Bostra to the rank of the provincial capital after AD 390.

The natural orientation of the peripheral centres towards the capital of the province of Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia and particularly the transfer of its capital from Petra to Elusa<sup>32</sup> (after the earthquake of AD 551) may account for a few instances in which the year numeral is associated with the statement "κατὰ Ἐλούσην/ης". Two sixth century AD epitaphs from 'Avdat add "κατὰ Ἐλούσην" either next to the year numeral (no. 368) or next to the month day (no. 352). The indiction year, recorded in both cases, and the correlation between the Graeco-Arabic and the Gazaeen calendar in the latter, as well as the fact that the remainder of the city's dated inscriptions employed the era of provincia Arabia, leave no room for speculation about its nature. Two seventh century AD non-literary papyri from Auja Hafir<sup>33</sup> also dated by the era of the Arabian province (combination of indiction-year-month) refer to this era through the phrase "κατὰ Ἐλούσης", confirming, thus, such an interpretation for this era designation variant. Furthermore, it is meaningful to assume that, well before the change of the capital, the division of the original province of Arabia in favour of the new province of Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia might have necessitated a change in the designation of the era bequeathed to the new political unity by the older province. An argument "ex silentio" could be the total absence of any text coming from Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia and bearing the phrase "τῆς ἐπαρχίας" after the fourth century AD. This is of special importance if one recalls that the earliest evidence concerning the era formula is found in the Negev.<sup>34</sup>

It lies in the realms of analogy and probability that Elusa or the still flourishing Petra are alluded to in the expression "ἔτους τῆς πόλεως" met in a burial text from Auja Hafir (no. 284) and a papyrus from the same city,<sup>35</sup> and that this era is identical

29. The text of this inscription has been preliminarily published along with other inscriptions by H.I. Mac Adam in *ADAJ* 33 (1989), pp. 183-84, where is announced a more detailed publication with commentary in *GA* 5 (1986). We are grateful to Dr. MacAdam, who so willingly provided us with a photocopy of his article in *ADAJ*, as well as with a typescript of his publication, "A New Greek Inscription from Northern Jordan" in *GA*. The inscription is also mentioned by Ph. Freeman (*supra* note 5), p. 41, note 6 and Fiema, (*supra* note 2) p. 116 and note 36.

30. Waddington, pp. 562-63, no. 2463.

31. Fiema (*supra* note 2), pp. 115-20.

32. For the status of Elusa as the capital of Third Palestine see K.C. Gutwein, *Third Palestine: A Regional Study in Byzantine Urbanization* (Washington 1981), pp. 13-14.

33. Kraemer, *Nessana* 3, p. 159, no. 55 and p. 164, no. 57.

34. See *supra* note 26.

35. Kraemer, *Nessana* 3, p. 40, no. 14.



to the era of the province. The expression “ἔτους τῆς πόλεως” is usually combined with city eras within the territory of provincia Arabia instigated by local historical events (Philippopolis/Shuhba, Maximianopolis/Shakka etc., see chapter on Other City Eras). In these cases the designation “τῆς πόλεως” was an indispensable addition clarifying that the particular area in which the inscription stood used a special local era and not the current one of the province of Arabia.

As already mentioned, the inscriptions dated according to the era of provincia Arabia cover the chronological period from the second to the eighth centuries AD. Their abundance necessitates that the study of their dating formulae be treated separately for each century.

**2nd century AD:** The second century AD is poorly represented by 15 burial, dedicatory or building inscriptions which come exclusively from parts of the original provincia Arabia, and more specifically from the region between S. Hauran and Moab.<sup>36</sup> In this early phase of the era the dating formula is strictly limited to the year numeral preceded in most cases by the word “ἔτους”, “ἔτει” or “ἔτ(ου)s” and placed at the bottom of the inscription. A precise reference to the era of provincia Arabia as “ἔτους ... ἐπαρχίας” and “[.. ἔτους] .. καταστάσεως τῆς ἐπαρχίας” is met in two inscriptions from Madaba (nos. 1, 5).<sup>37</sup> The date according to the provincial era in the later inscription from Madaba is further equated to the corresponding regnal year of the emperor Antoninus Pius.

An expansion of the dating formula including Macedonian month and month day is attested in two inscriptions: one from 'Ormân (AD 157, no. 7) and one from Qaşr el-Hallabat (AD 178, no. 11). A vague month reading “Ἀπειος”, proposed by Littmann in an inscription from 'Anz (AD 111, no. 2) is tentatively identified by him as a Greek transliteration of the Latin “Martius”.<sup>38</sup> The Greek numerals are mostly arranged in descending order. In two cases ('Ormân, no. 7, Şahmet el-Burdân, no. 15), however, the ascending sequence was thought more preferable. In 'Ormân, where the descending order is more common, the inverted choice was conscious since the year has been rendered with ordinals. An ordinal numeral also appears for the year of another second century inscription from Umm el-Jimâl (no. 14).

**3rd century AD:** The third century AD yields 43 inscriptions reckoned according to the era of provincia Arabia. This epigraphical material comes from Hauranitis, Batanaea (Hêt), Trachonitis ('Ahire), Belqa (Irbid, Samad) and the area of the Negev ('Avdat).

36. The distribution of the inscriptions follows the pattern set by Sartre (*Trois études*, pp. 52, 54) with regard to the original N. border of provincia Arabia. A mutilated inscription from Sidjn (*RB* n.s. 2 [1905], p. 95, no. 10; *PA* III, p. 318), explicitly dated by the era of the province of Arabia, has been considered incompatible with this pattern since the site lies beyond the original N. border of the province. The first publication of the text, to which Sartre very thoughtfully turned, provides in our opinion an answer to the problem. In this publication the dating phrase reads as follows: -]CIOYCTOYOBΔO[- --/- -]AP-TOYTHCEΠA[- -. The ordinal standing for the hundreds numeral has been partially lost, but a possible restoration of this particle would place the inscription at least in AD 379/80 or even later. In the fourth century AD Sidjn, as well as the regions N. of it, had already been integrated into the province of Arabia.

37. For the unusual expression used for the designation of the era in inscr. no. 5 see above, p. 149.

38. Littmann (*PAES* IIIA2, p. 108, no. 185) was aware of the existence of the month “Ἀπειος” in both Thesalian and Bithynian calendars (Samuel, *GRC*, pp. 85, 175), but he refused to accept a month of such an origin. In favour of its Roman provenance, it might be of importance that the lower parts of an eagle are preserved on the block.

During this century the dating formula is still restricted to the simple mention of the year. The year numeral is usually preceded by the genitive “ἔτους” and more rarely by the dative “ἐτι”, “ἐτει” or even the accusative “ἔτος”. The abbreviated form<sup>39</sup> “ἔ(τους)” or “ἐτ(ους)” is also frequent. The character L, symbol of the term “year”, precedes the year numeral in the inscription from Hêt (no. 42). In the inscription from 'Amra (no. 56), Waddington takes the word preceding the year numeral, “σεννότου”, as a transcription of the Semitic word “shenat” (=year). This is very plausible but also unique, for the clause “shenat” usually introduces dates in inscriptions and papyri written in Arabic and dated according to the Hegira era.<sup>40</sup> In two instances (nos. 26, 35) a plain year numeral appears, while only one inscription from Bostra (no. 28) refers to the era as “[ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχ]είας”, giving at the same time the year numeral in full, and another one from Umm el-Quttayn (no. 38) designates the year numeral as “ἔτη πν' Βοσ(τηνῶν) or Βόσ(τηρῆς)”. All the other year numerals are written in Greek letters in descending order, except for the inscriptions from 'Ahire, Hêt, Imtân (nos. 25, 42, 53) which bear an inverted year numeral. The usual position of the year reference is at the end of the inscription, but sometimes it moves either to the beginning or to the middle of the text.

The dating formula is enlarged through the addition of month and month day in only five inscriptions (nos. 16, 20, 30, 40, 48). In the examples from Inât (no. 16) and 'Ayûn (no. 48) the Macedonian month nomenclature is employed. The earliest inscription from 'Avdat (no. 30) and that from Petra (no. 40) mention Nabataean months. This is not surprising for these areas belonged to the Nabataean kingdom before AD 106.

The use of the era of provincia Arabia in 'Ahire (no. 25) in the heart of Trachonitis has been taken as decisive proof for the expansion of the jurisdiction of the province of Arabia over this area already in the beginning of the third century AD.<sup>41</sup> Sartre, using additional inscriptions,<sup>42</sup> elaborated the argument by proposing that N. Hauranitis, Trachonitis and N. Batanaea were annexed to the province between AD 194 and 214. Sartre's hypothesis, accepted later by Bowersock,<sup>43</sup> modifies the traditional view that Trachonitis and Batanaea became part of the province only after a Diocletian's decree in AD 295.<sup>44</sup>

The Severan territorial reform could have affected the northwest boundary of Roman Arabia too. The inscription from Hêt (no. 42) in W. Batanaea, dated by the provincial era 35 years before the assumed Diocletian rearrangement, could serve as a confirmation of such an argument. Sartre,<sup>45</sup> however, very tentatively assigned Hêt to the territory of the original province of Arabia.

The dated inscription from Irbid (no. 27) mentioning one of the Gordians (most likely Gordian III, AD 238-244) necessitates that the era year be exclusively reckoned according to the era of provincia Arabia in order to coincide with Gordian's first ruling year. However, it is difficult to use the same era to convert the date of an-

39. For other examples of the symbol L see chapter on eras (designation of), p. 30 and note 15.

40. Y. Meimaris, “The Arab(Hijra) Era Mentioned in Greek Inscriptions and Papyri from Palestine”, *GA* 3 (1984), p. 184.

41. R. Mouterde, “Inscriptions grecques de Soueïda et d'Ahiré”, *MUB* 16 (1932), pp. 79-82.

42. Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 54-62.

43. Bowersock (supra note 14).

44. See supra note 12.

45. Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 46-47.

other inscription found in Irbid.<sup>46</sup> In this inscription, the reading of the year numeral in descending order is disputed – 15 (IE), 95 (ΛΕ) or 305 (TE). In addition, the expression following the era year, “κατὰ κτίσιν τῆς πόλεο(ς)” (according to the founding of the city), is unique, and seems to imply rather a city era inaugurated by a local event than that of the province. By the term “κτίσις”, a refoundation of the city which occurred after AD 238 could be meant. This is the case with other cities (Shuhba, Shakka, Burāk), which, although belonging to the province of Arabia, use local eras inaugurated after the benefaction of certain emperors like Maximian, Constantine the Great etc.<sup>47</sup>

Virtually nothing is known about the early history of the ancient city succeeded by modern Irbid. Its ruins have been associated with Arbela,<sup>48</sup> a town located in the northern boundary of Pella's territory according to Eusebius' account in the *Onomasticon*<sup>49</sup> (ca. AD 328). This clearly contradicts the situation alluded to by the first inscription according to which Irbid belonged to provincia Arabia already in AD 238, unless Irbid does not mark the site of Arbela or the inscription was originally set up somewhere else.<sup>50</sup>

In any case, this discussion about Irbid is very instructive of the drawbacks involved when using chronological systems in an attempt to elucidate matters of historical geography and political history.

Samad, where inscription no. 31 was found in second use, lies 11 km. south of Irbid. Theoretically both Samad and Khirbet Beni Malek, the place where this funeral text was first seen, should have belonged to the territory of Pella and therefore they should have made use of the local era of this urban centre. But the descending order of the year numeral of this inscription as well as the employment of the era of the province of Arabia in Irbid five years earlier (no. 27), suggest reckoning of this date by the era of provincia Arabia.

The majority of the dated texts of the third century AD belongs to building inscriptions commemorating the erection of certain structures (towers, walls, military installations etc.). In these inscriptions the year numeral is usually combined with a reference to the emperor or the officials involved in the construction of the specific public work. Among the other types of inscriptions the funerary ones are the most numerous, but there are also dedicatory and honorific texts.

**4th century AD:** A total of 104 dated inscriptions belongs to the fourth century AD. It is remarkable that in this century, too, the main body of the inscriptions originates from Hauranitis. The rest of the material comes from Trachonitis and Moab.

A careful examination of the fourth century dated inscriptions shows that the dating formula occupies a rather constant place at the end of the epigraphical text.

46. “Ἐτους ιε' (or λε' or τε') κατὰ κτί/σιν τῆς πόλεο(ς), Λούκιος Δομί/τιος + μαίωρ + / τὴν στήλην αὐτό(ς) συν τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ μν/ημίῳ ἐποίησεν”. For the inscription see Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, “Inscriptions grecques inédites du Hauran et des régions adjacentes”, *RAO* I (1888), p. 18, no. 28; P. Sejourmé, “Chronique Palestinienne”, *RB* 3 (1894), pp. 623-24; D. L. Pitcairn, “Greek Inscriptions from the Decapolis”, *PEFQS* 1911, pp. 56-57, no. 1.

47. Clermont-Ganneau (supra note 46).

48. Van de Velde cited by Sauley, p. 292; Pitcairn (supra note 46); Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 175; idem, *Gazetteer*, p. 30; Piccirillo, *Chiese*, p. 12 and note 6.

49. *Onomasticon* 14. 19.

50. J. Germer-Durand, “Inscription grecque decouverte récemment à Sébaste”, *RB* 3 (1894), p. 260, where the inscription is said to have come from Samaria-Sebaste which had its own era departing from 28(?) BC.

The majority of the extant examples seems to follow this rule, especially those dated in the late fourth century AD. Only a few dates appear in the middle or towards the bottom of the inscription, either before the name of the supervisor or the executor of the work mentioned, or before a certain acclamation. Exceptional is the case of two inscriptions from 'Awwas (no. 65) and Imtân (no. 69), where the year references constitute their opening phrase. A dozen inscriptions from the Hauran area, framed within *tabulae ansatae*, record the date (year) within one of the triangular dovetails of the tablet or, more rarely, outside of it. Whether, this practice was chosen for emphasis due to lack of space is unknown. That these areas were the last available to accommodate the information of the text is obvious in two inscriptions from Harrân (nos. 158, 160) where the dating phrase was split between the main stem and the dovetails.

The fourth century AD is of great significance for the development of the dating formula of the era of provincia Arabia. Now the year ceases to be the almost exclusive dating element. The indiction makes its first appearance and the months are more often inserted in the date. It should be noted, though, that in only 13 out of a total of 104 inscriptions dated in the fourth century AD is the year accompanied by a month name or an indiction.

The year expression consists either of a plain year numeral or more frequently of a year numeral preceded by the word “ἔτος”, in various forms, like “ἔτους”, “τοῦ ἔτους”, “ἔτι”, “ἐν ἔτι” [var. “ἐν ἔτω”, “ἐν ἡτι”, “ἐν ἔτ(ει)"] and the abbreviated one “ἔτ(ους) / (ει)”. Most of the year numerals are rendered in Greek letters in descending order except for two, from 'Ormân (no. 74) and El-Ghâriye (no. 139), whose letters are arranged in an unorthodox way, i.e. hundreds - units - tens (σσεῖ, σσεο'). In two other cases (Melâh-eş-Şarrâr, no. 67, Sûr, no. 83) the year numeral is written out in ordinals. In the date of inscription no. 131 from Khuraiyib, wrongly assigned by Littmann to the sixth century AD, both cardinals and ordinals are combined to form the year numeral. In another inscription from 'Ormân (no. 120) the year numeral is engraved twice on the stone.

The months employed in the fourth century AD inscriptions belong to the Graeco-Arabic calendar (nos. 69, 86, 94, 114, 123, 148, 150, 152). In addition, the use of a Roman month appears in two inscriptions, one from El-Hît (Trachonitis, no. 116) and another from Imtân (Hauranitis, no. 109). This is unusual for as early as the mid-fourth century AD and is the first mention of Roman months in combination with the era of provincia Arabia. Closer examination of these epigraphical texts throws more light on the problem. The person who ordered the tomb in Imtân was a Roman officer and consequently the Roman calendar was not only familiar to him, but also his preferred option. Despite its early date (AD 354 or 355) the inscription from Hît has a strong Christian flavour and a phraseology appropriate for the late fifth or sixth century AD. The offices of the Church servants also sound well-established. In addition, erection of a church dedicated to saints who suffered martyrdom a few years earlier (in the reign of Galerius Maximianus) is so far unparalleled. Thus, if the era of provincia Arabia is to be ruled out, the next candidate must be one of the local eras in the region.

The month reference is a compound expression consisting of the word “μηνός” [var. “μενός”, “μην(ός/ι)”, “μ(ην)ός/ι”) or the phrase “ἐν μηνί” and the name of the month either in genitive or in abbreviated form. The day of the month, in Greek letters, is usually reported next to the month name.

Indiction, the new dating component, is introduced in the era of provincia Arabia through one inscription from El-Kureye (no. 151, AD 389/90) and two inscriptions

from Harrân (nos. 158, 160, AD 397/8). It is expressed in the abbreviated form *ivδ(ικτιῶνος)* followed by a Greek numeral or the indiction phrase is further augmented as follows: *χρ(όνων)* + numeral + *ivδ(ικτιῶνος)*.

A special designation of the era of provincia Arabia is observed in at least nine inscriptions under the terms: “*ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχίας*” (nos. 76, 82?, 83, 106, 128, 155, 156, 157) and “*ἔτους τῆς Βοσ[τ]ρηνῶν*” (no. 158). The emphatical naming of the era in Sûr (no. 83) and Harrân (no. 160) which were geographically situated in Trachonitis, offers indisputable proof that both sites and consequently Trachonitis were part of provincia Arabia in the fourth century AD.

The inscription from Deir el-Kahf (no. 62) is unique. The Latin text mentioning the emperors and Caesars, during whose office a task – probably in the fortress – was completed, is supplemented by the Greek phrase “*ἔτους σα*”. The addition of a short Greek text under a Latin one in the same inscription is not common, but it occurs (e.g. in milestones). The dates in the Latin and Greek portions are typical for the time reckoning conventions in Rome and provincia Arabia, respectively. In a way the Greek numeral, although it fixes the time of the event more accurately, seems superfluous. On the other hand the text could be rendered entirely in Greek, as Greek was the “lingua franca” in the area<sup>51</sup> (see Imtân, nos. 97, 98 and ‘Anz, no. 123). The present form could be justified by a desire to address two co-existing traditions: the Latin one of the Roman soldiers in the fortress and the Graeco-Arabic one of the indigenous people.

The inscriptions of this century commemorate either the construction of a tomb or the erection of public buildings (shrines, fountains, towers, castles etc.). Whether the owners of the tombs or the public-spirited donors were pagans or Christians is not easy to discover. In any case, Christian churches were certainly built by the end of this period as the inscription from El-Kufr (no. 153, AD 392/3) attests.

**5th century AD:** The 72 inscriptions of this century were collected in Hauranitis, Trachonitis, Moab, Petra, Negev and Jerusalem (possibly brought into the latter from a ruined site of Palaestina Tertia).

The era in use is specified in this period also through the clause “*ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχίας*” (nos. 169, 199, 227, 228, 232).

Usually the dating formula is encountered at the end of the text or, in the case of *tabulae ansatae*, within the dovetails or around them. Several inscriptions (18) have the date in the introductory phrase or amid the text. Almost two thirds of the inscriptions are dated only to year, the remainder bearing a more detailed phrase. The latter group usually includes year and month (occasionally month day too: nos. 166, 172, 189, 193, 194, 197, 201, 208, 213, 218, 223, 224, 225, 230, 234) and less often year and indiction year (nos. 173?, 199, 221?, 222, 226, 227, 228, 232) or year, month and indiction year (nos. 207, 233).

The year numeral is normally preceded by the genitive “*ἔτους*” or the dative “*ἐν ἔτι*” and less often by their alternative forms “*ἔτ(ους)*”, “*ἔτι*”, “*ἔτει*”, “*ἐν ἔτι*”, “*ἐν*”, “*τοῦ*”. Months and indiction years are also announced by the relevant forms: “*μηνός*”, “*μ(ηνός)*”, “*μ(ηνί)*”, “*ἐν μηνί*”, “*ivδ(ικτιῶνος)*”, “*ivδικ(τιῶνος)*”. A plain year numeral is attested in a few instances (nos. 163, 164?, 211, 224). The numbers expressed with the letters of the Greek alphabet are arranged in descending order with the exception of a few examples (nos. 163, 197, 210, 218) from peripheral sites of the prov-

51. Freeman (supra note 5), p. 44 and note 12.

ince which demonstrate an inverted numerical order. A building text from Melaḥ eş-Şarrâr (no. 231) bears a year numeral whose tens-hundreds-units are ordered in this strange sequence. Melaḥ eş-Şarrâr is located in the same region as 'Ormân and El-Ghâriye. The latter sites have yielded two inscriptions (nos. 74, 139) also with a peculiar order of the year numeral particles. Two epitaphs from Auja Hafir refer to the year of death through the respective ordinals or combination of ordinal and cardinal numerals (nos. 207, 201). Two month days in ascending order are also to be found in two dedicatory inscriptions from Hauran (nos. 172, 225) related to the erection of buildings.

The preserved month names conform to the Macedonian nomenclature. On the contrary, the total absence of Roman months is striking.

A relative chronology for some of the inscriptions can also be deduced by the reference to known religious and civil officials. The majority of the texts are incised on tombstones, while those of a less numerous group commemorate erection of castles, a portico, a praetorium, a martyrium, churches etc.

**6th century AD:** Provincia Arabia (Hauranitis, Trachonitis, Belḳa) and Palaestina Tertia (Moab, Negev, Aila) yielded the numerous inscriptions (192) of this group. In fact, this century is epigraphically attested better than any other under consideration.

Fifteen inscriptions from provincia Arabia Hauranitis nos. 277, 335, 369, Trachonitis nos. 254, 255, 273, 330, 361, Belḳa nos. 263, 265, 349, 387, 411) and Palaestina Tertia (nos. 284, 368) bear an emphatic designation for the era in use through the phrases: “ἔτους(ι) τῆς ἐπαρχίας”, “ἐν ἔτους(η) τῆς ἐπαρχίας Ἀραβ(ίας)”, “ἔτους τῆς πόλεως”, “κατὰ Βόστρα ἔτους” and “ἔτους κατὰ Ἐλού(σσην)”.

The components of a satisfactory dating formula (year + month name and day + indiction) are familiar to the stone-carvers of both private and official texts of this period, but no consistency in recording them can be claimed. Certain funerary inscriptions from Moab, for example, are dated only to the year and at the same time others strive for more detailed chronological indication by citing the year, the corresponding indiction year and the month day. Generous donations by the emperors, high officials or wealthy citizens are propagated through inscriptions either mentioning the year these donations were granted or referring in more detail to the time a certain monument was erected.

With the exception of a dozen examples having the dating phrase in the beginning or in the middle of the text, all the rest reserve the date for the final sentence. The order of the date particles varies greatly and seems rather random.

Where the year is not expressed through a plain numeral, it is preceded by the forms: “ἔτους”, “τοῦ ἔτους”, “τῷ ἔτει”, “ἔτει(ι)”, “ἐν ἔτει(ει)”, and in one case “ἐν ἔτους” (no. 387). The numbers are rendered with the letters of the Greek alphabet in descending order. Two inscriptions do not follow these specifications: in no. 327, from Madaba, ordinals have been used, while the restored number of no. 335, from Sâla, is inverted. In the latter inscription, in spite of the ascending order of the year numeral, the type of the era cannot be questioned due to the explicit era designation “τῆς ἐπαρχίας”.

Mention of the month and indiction-year is normally made through the clauses: “ἐν μηνί”, “μηνί”, “μη(νός/ι)” and “ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)” (in the majority of the inscriptions), “χρόνων ... ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)”, “ἰνδικτιῶνι”, “ἐπὶ τῆς ... ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)”, respectively. Plain month names or indiction numbers deprived of the introductory designation occur very rarely. For the numerals of both month days and indictions the

corresponding Greek letters are used. Inverted Greek numerals for month days are known from four inscriptions from Auja Hafir and Rehovot (nos. 284, 285, 289, 311), although this order is not followed by the year numerals of the inscriptions. Only five month days (nos. 265, 344, 360, 368, 373) and six indiction years (nos. 235, 253, 302, 327, 422, 425) are recorded by an ordinal.

Use of the months of the Roman calendar is limited to seven examples from provincia Arabia (nos. 240, 263, 265, 277, 327, 334, 411). It is noteworthy that six out of the seven inscriptions recording Roman months omit indication of the specific day. The use of the Egyptian month Choiak in the funerary stele of a man with the common Graeco-Egyptian name Zacharias from 'Avdat (no. 287) could be interpreted by an Egyptian origin of the deceased or the proximity of the site to Egypt.

Two of the epitaphs (nos. 352, 368) from 'Avdat show an extraordinary interest in noting the exact time that the death and the burial took place by recording next to year, month and indiction year, the day of the week and the time of the day. The first goes further and equates the month and the month day of the Graeco-Arabic calendar with the corresponding month day according to the calendar of Gaza. The mention of a deceased "virgin of Maiumas" in another inscription from the same site (no. 394) might imply that a family loyal to the Gazaeen customs had moved from the port of Gaza, Maiumas, down to the Negev area. Two other inscriptions from Moab (nos. 237, 363) are dated to the seventh and the fourth day of the newly started year, respectively. In 'Avdat the days of the week, which was called "σάββατον", were designated through the corresponding letters of the Greek alphabet with the exception of Sunday which was named "Κυριακή". Greek numerals, cardinals or ordinals, are used to count the day hours.

A number of inscriptions from the sixth and seventh centuries are problematic since their indiction year does not comply with the era year and the accompanying month. This situation urged certain scholars either to postulate ignorance or confusion of the compilers of the texts (Canova)<sup>52</sup> or to assume a backward shift of the era epoch so that it coincides with the first day of the indiction (Clermont-Ganneau, Grumel: 1 September AD 105).<sup>53</sup> The bulk of the epigraphical material seems to justify Canova. More specifically, other contemporary or later inscriptions from the same sites which furnished the problematic texts point to a stable and immovable epoch (22 March AD 106) of the era. Furthermore, the uncertain reading of some inscriptions could also account for the disagreement among the dating components.

The inscriptions showing a clear disharmony between indiction and year + month are limited to only eighteen burial and building texts. These come from three sites of Palaestina Tertia: Shivta (nos. 238, 458, 498, 501), Auja Hafir (nos. 382, 450, 489, 499), Maḥaiy (nos. 324, 430, 469, 477, 509, 515, 520, 524), Rehovot (no. 339) and from Ras-Siyagha of provincia Arabia (no. 263). In most of the cases (all inscriptions from Maḥaiy, nos. 498, 501 from Shivta, nos. 382, 499 from Auja Hafir) reckoning by the epoch of 22 March AD 106 makes the indiction outrun the year and month date and only conversion by 1 September AD 106 could settle the discordance. On the other hand, two inscriptions from Shivta (nos. 238, 458) and two from Auja Hafir (nos. 450, 489) would require an additional indiction year in order to remedy the discrepancy between it and the year-month compound. The chronological

52. Canova, pp. xciv-xcvii.

53. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* IV (1901), p. 296; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 215.

data of the latter group provide some evidence concerning the mechanism of these discrepancies. As Canova also noted, the specific texts are dated about the time an indiction or an era year changed. Thus, the lapicide's failure and confusion to update the chronological correlations is understandable. Based on this, it would be reasonable to attribute the discord noticed in the first group to an engraver's blunder too.

In fourteen papyri from Auja Hafir<sup>54</sup> recording legal transactions, the date is comprised of all the particles seen in the inscriptions, but in most of the cases in a more elaborate way. The date according to the era of provincia Arabia, following the reference to the regnal year and occasionally the consulship of the emperor, is encountered mainly at the top of the document. Macedonian month names, except for that mentioning the Kalends of January, as well as indiction years contribute to a more accurate date. The numerals are usually written out in ordinals: e.g. "ἔτους τετρα[κ]οσι[ο]στοῦ ἑξηκοστοῦ πρώτου, υἷα', χρόνων ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) πεντεκαίδεκάτης, μηνὸς [Δ]ίου ἑξκαιδεκάτη".<sup>55</sup> In four texts the year is designated by both an ordinal numeral and a numerical sign.<sup>56</sup> Possibly the official nature of the documents is responsible for such a minute formula.

Mention of high officials as well as emperors offers a further clue for a relative chronology of some inscriptions. Equation of the specific regnal year of Justinian to the year according to the provincial era is attested only once (no. 272).

The majority of the dated texts comes from tombstones. In addition, a substantial percentage lists building activities and repairs to churches, castles, towers, martyria or mosaic paving.

**7th century AD:** Smaller but still numerous is the group of the 99 seventh century AD inscriptions. Hauranitis, Batanaea, Belka in provincia Arabia, Moab and Negev in Palaestina Tertia are represented through the extant examples.

Four inscriptions from provincia Arabia name the era in use through the phrase "ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχίας" (nos. 455, 480, 481, 483), while in another inscription from Auja Hafir (nos. 450) the uncommon designation "ἔτους τῆς πόλεως..." is restored.

The dating formula is found at the end of the text or preceding the last phrase (mostly invocation or praise for the deceased). Most of the inscriptions are dated to year, month and indiction year. However, a handful of texts – coming mainly from the Hauran area – includes only year reference, while some others from Moab combine the year of the era either with the respective indiction year or with a month. The order of the dating components and the abbreviations of their introductory words are not standardized, as three contemporary inscriptions from Maḥaiy demonstrate (nos. 475-477). All the phrases preceding the year, month and indiction numerals have already been attested in the previous centuries: "ἔτους", "ἐν ἔτους", "τοῦ ἔτους", "τοῦ + numeral", "ἐν ἔτει", "ἐν μην(ί)", "μην(ί)", "μην(ός)", "τῇ ... μην(ί) + month name", "ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)", "χρ(όνων) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)". Letters of the Greek alphabet in descending order serve as numerals. The wrong indiction number of a neatly incised inscription from Shivta (no. 458) constitutes the only example of an inverted numeral. Interestingly enough, the year and month numerals are not affected by this order. Ordinal numbers are used once to cite a year (no. 500), twice to specify the day

54. Kraemer, *Nessana 3*, nos. 14, p. 40; 16, p. 47; 17, p. 53; 18, p. 56; 19, p. 61; 20, p. 64; 21, pp. 66-67; 22, p. 71; 23, p. 75; 24, pp. 77-78; 26, p. 82; 27, p. 85; 29, p. 89; 44, p. 133.

55. *Ibid.*, no. 22.

56. *Ibid.*, nos. 20-23.



of the month (nos. 504, 512) and four times to indicate the indiction year (nos. 445, 480, 494, 505). From Hauranitis, which yielded the most laconic formulae, comes a more detailed dating phrase (no. 513) giving, in addition to the usual dating elements, the day of the week in ordinal numeral. The latter is further styled as the last day of the month (and not as the 30th as one would expect in a forward count).

The dating formulae using the Macedonian nomenclature (55 inscriptions) far outnumber those employing the Roman one (nos. 445, 474, 481, 494, 500, 513). This fact proves the former system to be the dominant and favourite device for designating the months in this century too. Two inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia (nos. 427, 464) recording epagomenal days confirm that the calendar retains its original character.

The sporadic use of Roman month names is attested – as was also the case in the previous century – in various sites of Hauranitis and Belka. In Palaestina Tertia the Roman calendar seems to have been correlated with the Graeco-Arabic one, as some inscriptions from Beersheba (see E.E. nos. 6B, 9 and note 15) imply. The dating phrase “μη(ν)ι καλανδὸν κθ” of an inscription from Rehovot (no. 429) is obviously affected by the Roman calendar. *Kalendae* was the name applied to the first day of each Roman month and to the festivities for the New Year.<sup>57</sup> A papyrus from Auja Hafir,<sup>58</sup> dated five years earlier than the inscription in question and preserving a summons issued on behalf of a soldier, dates by the kalends of a specific month. N. Schmidt and B.B. Charles, who published the inscription from Rehovot, considered the term “kalends” a denomination for the first month of the year. They also suggested that by the phrase “μη(ν)ι καλανδὸν” the first month of the Arabic calendar (Xanthikos) was meant, since they accepted an Arabic New Year’s festival modelled on the Roman prototype. One would be willing to challenge their hypothesis in favour of the pure Roman calendar (January), if the month day were not designated according to the Macedonian fashion. However, in the Greek inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia, Roman months are usually linked with days counted according to the Hellenistic system (forward sequence, α'-λ').

Discord between the year numeral and the indiction year similarly occurs in this century as it did in the sixth century AD (see sixth century discussion, pp. 157-58).

The dates of three documents from the Auja Hafir papyri<sup>59</sup> share the same characteristics with those of the inscriptions. It is noteworthy that these texts continue to use Macedonian months in contrast to contemporary bilingual texts (Greek-Arabic), dated according to the era of Hegira, which employ exclusively either Roman or Arabic names.

The number of burial inscriptions dated according to the era of provincia Arabia far outnumber those mentioning the erection of a church or the donation of a mosaic pavement. Two inscriptions from El-Kufr (no. 513) and Salchad (no. 517) reveal that the Christians there were free to dedicate and build new churches 10-20 years after the Muslim conquest of the area. Dates on tombstones from Moab indicate that the population of this region as well could set up Christian stelae till the end of the century and even later.

57. *RE* X, 2 (1919), cols. 1560-62, s.v. *Kalendae* (Wissowa); *ibid.*, cols. 1562-64, s.v. *Kalendae Ianuariae*. *Kalendenfest* (Nilsson); Samuel, *GRC*, p. 154.

58. Kraemer, *Nessana* 3, no. 29, p. 89.

59. *Ibid.*, no. 46, p. 136; no. 56, p. 159 and no. 57.

**8th century AD:** Two burial inscriptions from Moab, three mosaic inscriptions from Transjordan (two of them mentioning execution of mosaic pavement) and one inscription from El-Kufr in Hauran, referring to the erection of a church, is the evidence available for the study of the final stage of the era.

The dating formula, as expected, appears at the end or just before the concluding phrase. This phrase usually refers to the donor and the technicians involved in the work or is a biblical quotation.

Where the text is not mutilated, the date is composed of month name, indiction year and year numeral. The sequence of the components would be consistent if the epitaph from Maḥaiy (no. 531) did not have the year of the era inserted between the month and the indiction. This inscription is the latest text designating the months on the basis of the Macedonian style (if the reading of the year is correct since there is no agreement between it and the indiction). With the exception of the inscription from Maḥaiy there is a perfect harmony between indiction and era year in this century. This correlation confirms that the epoch of the era was still the original one, i.e. 22 March AD 106. Further verification for the nature of the era in use is afforded by the familiar phrase “τοῦ ἡττους ἡπαρχίας Ἀραβίας” mentioned in a mosaic text at Umm er-Rasas (no. 526). The Greek numerals, always in descending order, follow the introductory phrases: “ἔτους”, “τοῦ ἔτους”, “ἐν μ(ηνί)”, “ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)”, “χρό(νων) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)”.

The small number and the character of these inscriptions reflect gradual changes several years after the consolidation by the Muslim regime. The caliphs and the amirs tolerated building activities in the Christian churches, but the Christian populations gradually vanished.<sup>60</sup>

**General remarks:** The distribution of the inscriptions through the centuries indicates a progressive expansion of the territory of the era of provincia Arabia and thus contributes essentially to the arduous task of determining the boundaries of the Arabian province and documenting administrative changes that occurred in it.

The conclusions regarding the geographical expansion of the era of provincia Arabia presented in this study corroborate the frontier pattern lately compiled by Sartre.<sup>61</sup> The few inscriptions dated in the first century of the life of the new political unit came from what forms everafter the core of the province (S. Hauranitis, Belḡa). The area of the Negev yielded the first dated inscriptions according to the era of provincia Arabia in the third century AD. In the same century a few dated inscriptions from the remote Leja in Trachonitis allude to a drastic expansion of the jurisdiction of the Arabian province in these areas. The gradually increasing number of inscriptions in the next four centuries witness the control of the province over Bata-naea, Hauranitis and Trachonitis. In the fourth century AD, the era of provincia Arabia with its Graeco-Arabic calendar must have been popular among the populations of Moab and Negev. This may explain why the era of provincia Arabia was retained there as the main chronological system after these regions were detached from provincia Arabia and became the new province of Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia.<sup>62</sup>

60. Canova, pp. lxxii-lxxiii; G.R.D. King, “Two Byzantine Churches in Northern Jordan and their Re-use in the Islamic Period”, *DM* 1 (1983), p. 133; R. Schick, *The Fate of the Christians in Palestine during the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition, A.D. 600-750*, 3 vols. (Diss. Univ. of Chicago 1987), pp. 259-72.

61. Sartre, *Trois études*, ch. I. Les frontières de l'Arabie romaine, pp. 17-75.

62. Gutwein (supra note 32), p. 22.

Well after the Islamic conquest and the abolition of the Roman administration, the era of provincia Arabia was the familiar and time-honoured reckoning basis for the dramatically decreasing number of Christians as well as their conquerors and, as such, was allowed to be used until the eighth century AD when it finally vanished.

Favourite position for the dating formula is the last or the penultimate phrase of the inscription. Some texts, however, either start with it or insert it among the other pieces of information. Until the fifth century AD the year according to the era is almost the sole component of the dating clause. Occasionally the month denomination makes the time of a certain event more specific. Indiction year is first recorded in this system at the end of the fourth century AD in three inscriptions, one from El-Kureye (Hauranitis, no. 151) and two from Harrân (Trachonitis, nos. 158, 160). During the fifth century, when the indiction becomes more usual in the dating formula, it alternates with the month reference. Before the sixth century AD the era year, indiction year and month name hardly coexist in one and the same inscription. From this point onwards, however, their combination contributes toward a more detailed time recording. A seventh century AD inscription from El-Kufr (Hauranitis, no. 513) specifies the day of the week, while two sixth century examples from 'Avdat (Palaestina Tertia, nos. 352, 368) cite even the hour of the day. The numerals follow the introductory phrases appropriate for each component: "ἔτους", "ἐν μηνί", "ἰνδικτιῶνος", "ἡμέρᾳ", "ὥραν" or variations and abbreviations of these forms. Letters of the Greek alphabet are set together in descending order to form the numerals. A handful of inverted year and month numerals is charted in the regions of Trachonitis (3rd cent.) and Hauranitis (5th cent.) where this practice is common in previous chronological systems influenced by the Seleucid presence and tradition. There are also some instances in which ordinal numerals name the day. The use of ordinal numerals is more common in the fuller dating formulae of the Nessara papyri.

The Macedonian nomenclature and month sequence are employed by the calendar of the era of the province of Arabia. Spelling variations of a month name are common (e.g. Αὐδωναῖος, Αὐδονέος, Αὐγδωναῖος, Ὀγδονέος, Ὠγδωναῖος, Ὠγδόνιος) and sometimes more than one appears in the same inscription (E.P.A. no. 352). Roman months are linked with the era once in the mid-fourth century AD in Imtân (no. 109) and Hīt (no. 116) and reappear in a very few sites of the province of Arabia during the sixth (7 inscriptions) and seventh centuries AD (6 inscriptions). The eighth century AD witnesses the substitution of the Graeco-Arabic nomenclature by the Roman one. The rivalry and struggle between the two calendaric designations is clearly observed in the case of Rihab. There, in eight inscriptions commemorating the erection or mosaic decoration of a series of churches (AD 533-635), both styles are used alternatively.<sup>63</sup>

The inscriptions dated by the era of provincia Arabia are either epitaphs or texts recording the building, rebuilding or embellishment of churches and other public structures. The funerary inscriptions are incised on stelae, while the other categories are either engraved on stone or are part of a tessellated pavement.

63. Piccirillo, *Chiese*, pp. 68-87.

## 2nd century AD

1. *MADABA* block  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie 2*, pp. 118-19, no. 118b.

Σελαμὸν χρηστὲ καὶ  
ἄλλυπε χαῖρε. Ἀβγὰρ ὁ καὶ Εἰσίων,  
Μονοάθου υἱός, υἱῷ τειμῖω τὸ μνήμα  
ἐποίησεν, ἔτους τρίτου ἐπαρχείας.

**Date:** 3 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 108 – 21 March AD 109.

2. *ANZ* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 108, no. 185.

|---- ἐνθάδε Ἄλ|αφο(ς) κεῖται. Ὁ τόπος  
|---- ἐτελέσθη, ἥτους ζ', Ἀρείου (?) η'.

**Date:** 8 March (?) 6 E.P.A. = 8 March AD 111.

*Comments:* The sign ζ' indicating the year, could also be deciphered as 4=90 which, converted into Julian date, gives the year AD 195. For the problematic month name see discussion in text above, p. 151.

3. *EL-KUREYE* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 470, no. 1962; *IGRR* III, p. 472, no. 1318.

Ἀνηλώ-  
θησαν (δηνάρια) (μύρια),  
ἔτους λδ'.

**Date:** 34 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 139 – 21 March AD 140.

*Comments:* According to Waddington this is the earliest inscription dated by the era of provincia Arabia, a fact disproved by new epigraphical evidence (see inscr. no. 1).

4. *BOSTRA* altar  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 79, no. 9005.

Δαλσουμ|ο|  
ς Χεειλου ξ|ύ|  
σεβῶν ἀνέθη-  
κεν ἐν ἱερῷ αὐ-  
5 τοῦ θεοῦ ΕΔ  
.ΝΩΝΟΣ, ἔτους  
λη'.

**Date:** 38 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 143 – 21 March AD 144.

5. *MADABA* slab  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 119-21, no. 119.

Ἀβδάλλας Ἀνά[μ]ου τὸ τάφειμα  
τοῦτο ἐ[ποίη]σεν [ἐκ τ]ῶν ἰδίων θε-  
[.....<sup>ca. 16-19</sup>.....] ἐκατέρω-  
θεν ἔκτισεν ἅμα καὶ [ιε]ρὸν τέρμα  
5 [...] ἔτους [ca. 4.7] ἔτους [μ|γ] κατα-  
στάσεως τῆς ἐπαρχίας, Ἀντωνεῖν-  
[ου] Καίσαρος ἔτους ι|- -|.

**Date:** 4[3] E.P.A., 10th(?) R.Y. of Antoninus Pius = 22 March – 9 December AD 148.

*Comments:* For various proposals concerning the restorations of the three dating formulae of the inscription see Gatier, p. 120.

6. *ORMÂN* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 477, no. 2016.

Βορκαῖος Ναταίου κ(αί)  
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Βόρη Σ-  
ασιάσου ἐπόησαν,  
μ ζ'.

**Date:** 47 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 152 – 21 March AD 153.

*Comments:* According to Waddington, in the last line there is a vertical stroke between M and Z, much shorter than the flanking letters, which in any case is not an I. The interpretation of this sign as I should certainly be rejected, since in that case both M and I would stand for the tens.

7. *ORMÂN* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 324, no. 700.

Βάζουρος Αὔσου  
οικοδόμησεν  
τὸν βομόν, ἔτους  
δευτέρου πεντη-  
5 κοστοῦ, Πανήμο(υ)  
ἐπακαδεκ[άτη].

**Date:** 17 Panemos 52 E.P.A. = 6 July AD 157.

8. *BOSTRA* fragment of a lintel  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 216, no. 9144.

--- ἐ[τους] νγ'.

**Date:** 53 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 158 – 21 March AD 159.

9. *MELAH EŞ-ŞARRÂR* block  
Bibl. Waddington, pp. 478-79, no. 2023; *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 326-27, no. 706.

Νάγιος Χαίρου,  
ιερεὺς θεοῦ Δου-  
σάρεος, ἐπόησε  
τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τ-  
5 ὧν ιδίων, ἔτει νθ'.

**Date:** 59 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 164 – 21 March AD 165.

10. *SAHWET EL-KHUDR* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 471, no. 1969; *IGRR* III, p. 469, no. 1299.

Ῑπὲρ σωτηρίας Μ(ά)ρκ(ου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ῑαν(τωνεῖνου)  
Καίσ(αρος), Διὶ κυρίῳ διὰ Οὐάδ-  
ου Ῑασλάμου, Μολέμου  
Ῑανάνου καὶ Ῑούφου οὐε-  
5 τρανοῦ, ἱεροταμιῶν, ἔτ(ους) ξς'.

**Date:** 66 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 171 – 21 March AD 172.

11. *QAŞR EL-ḤALLABAT* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 23, no. 19; *SEG* 32 (1982), p. 435, no. 1555;  
D.L. Kennedy, *BAR-S* 134 (Oxford 1982), p. 39, no. 2.

Ἀῦαρος Ῑαλ[ό]-  
[δ]ου, ἐτῶν κ',  
πέθανεν ἐν Πε-  
[ρι]τίου κθ', ἔτους οβ'.

**Date:** 24 Peritios 72 E.P.A. = 8 February AD 178.

*Comments:* As Kennedy rightly pointed out the year numeral is OB and not CB, given in *PAES* IIIA2, p. 23, no. 19, since the first letter of the numeral is a closed circle (Kennedy, pl. XII and p. 38, fig. 8).

12. *MADABA* block  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, p. 121, no. 120.

Ῑαβδάλη Μοσα-  
λέμου καὶ Ῑοθμη  
Δημητρίου ὃ κατε-  
σκεύασαν ἑαυτοῖς  
5 ἐξ ιδίων, ἔτ(ους) οδ'.

**Date:** 74 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 179 – 21 March AD 180.

13. *SALCHAD* sarcophagus  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 656, no. 41; *PA* III, p. 319.

[Ἀρ]ουάθης κ[αὶ] Γαρήλου,  
ἔτους π´.

**Date:** 80 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 185 – 21 March AD 186.

14. *UMM EL-JIMÂL* keystone of the arch of a tomb  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA3, p. 157, no. 274.

-----  
[- - ]CIC, ἔτους  
ἐνανηκο-  
στοῦ.

**Date:** 90 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 195 – 21 March AD 196.

15. *SAHMET EL-BURDÂN* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 106-107, no. 182.

[Μνη]μεῖον αὐτῷ κἔ]  
[υἱο]ῖς Τι(βέριος) Μαρίω-  
[ν Φ]αρέκου ἐπο-  
[ίη]σεν, ἔτ(ους) α´.

**Date:** 91 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 196 – 21 March AD 197.

### 3rd century AD

16. *I'NÂT* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 123-24, no. 223; M.P. Speidel, *ANRW* II.8 (1977), pp. 712-13.

Μνημεῖον Γούθθα, υἱοῦ  
Ἑρμιναρίου, πραιποσίτου  
γεντιλίων ἐν Μοθάνοις ἀνα-  
φερομένων, ἀπογεν(ομέν)ου ἐτῶν ιδ´.  
5 Ἐτι ρβ´, Περιτίου κα´.

**Date:** 21 Peritios 102 E.P.A. = 5 February AD 208.

**Comments:** In *PAES* IIIA2 the exact day of the Roman equivalent of 21 Peritios is not given. Speidel wrongly equates 21 Peritios with 28 February.

17. *ANZ* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 680, no. 110; *PA* III, p. 321.

[...<sup>ca.10</sup>...]   
 NOC Ἀθεμος, υ-  
 ιοὶ Βοαῖβου, οἰ-  
 κοδόμησαν  
 5 τὸ μ(νημεῖον), ἔτ(ους) ργ'.

**Date:** 103 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 208 – 21 March AD 209.

18. *UMMEL-JIMÂL* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA3, pp. 157-58, no. 275.

Ἄλαβδος Σαμέθου  
 ἐποίησεν. Ἐτου(ς) ργ'.

**Date:** 103 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 208 – 21 March AD 209.

19. *HEBRÂN* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 304, no. 664.

Φυ(λῆ) Μοζαιεδην-  
 ὦν Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἀντών-  
 ιον Σαβεῖνον, οὐε-  
 τρανὸν τὸν πάτρ-  
 5 ωνα, εὐχαριστί-  
 ας χάριν.  
 Ἐτ(ους) ρθ'.

**Date:** 109 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 214 – 21 March AD 215.

20. *HEBRÂN* lintel fragment  
Bibl. Ewing, p. 278, no. 158; *PA* III, p. 323.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντωνείνου --- ]  
 καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μονίμου Α ----- ]  
 εὐσεβίας ἔνεκεν αὐτοῦ Ι ----- ]  
 Ἐτου(ς) ρι', [Ὑπερβερεταί?]ου αλ'(?).

**Date:** 110 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 215 – 21 March AD 216.

*Comments:* The restoration of the month after the year numeral is quite arbitrary. Besides, Hyperberetaios (*PA* III) had only 30 days, which makes impossible the reversed numeral ΑΛ.



21. *BO.S 'RA* base  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 79-80, no. 9006.

Θύλιος Πομ-  
πήιος Μάρκος,  
ιερεὺς Μεγάλης  
Τύχης, τῇ Κυρίᾳ  
5 Πατρίδι, ἔ(τους) ριβ'.

**Date:** 112 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 217 – 21 March AD 218.

22. *BOSTRA* base  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 80-81, no. 9007.

Θύλιος Πομ-  
πήιος Μάρκος,  
[ἱ]ερεὺς Μεγάλης|  
[Τ]ύχης, τῇ Κυρίᾳ  
5 [Π]ατρίδι, ἔ(τους) ριβ'.

**Date:** 112 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 217 – 21 March AD 218.

23. *'ORMÂN* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 320-21, no. 694; M. Dunand, *RB* 42 (1933), p. 243, no. 182a; *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 152, no. 1169.

Ζαιδοκίμ <α>(ς),  
Μόκειμος,  
φυλ(ῆς) Κοην-  
ῶν· ἐφρόν(ι)-  
5 σαν καθάρ(σεως).  
Ἐτ(ους) (below the left dovetail)  
ριβ' (below the right dovetail)

**Date:** 112 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 217 – 21 March AD 218.

*Comments:* The reading of the year numeral is quite problematic. M. Dunand read υιβ' or ινβ' (totally incorrect since it is impossible to have two tens figures in a row; he probably meant ριβ' or ρνβ') and strangely equated it to 142 or 152 E.P.A. (AD 247/8 or 257/8). On the other hand, in *PAES* the year numeral υιβ' (AD 517/8) is given. According to the editors of *PAES* IIIA, this date seems very late in view of the elaborate decoration of the dovetails and given the uncertainty about the first letter. The reading ριβ', considered by the same editors to be more probable, is more readily acceptable.

24. *UMM EL-JIMÂL* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA3, p. 158, no. 276.

Μασέχφ Οὐαέλου

τὸ μνημεῖον, θαν-  
 όντι ἐτ(ών) κγ'. Οὐάελ-  
 λος 'Ραουάου, πατήρ,  
 5 ἐποίησεν, ἐτ(ει) ρη'.

**Date:** 118 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 223 – 21 March AD 224.

25. 'AHIRE (*Aerita*) base  
 Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 131, no. 980.

'Αγαθῇ τύχη.  
 Ὅτε ἡ κεραυν-  
 οβολία ἐγέν-  
 ετο καὶ ἀπ-  
 5 εθεώθη  
 Αὔσος 'Αμ-  
 ελάθου, ἐ-  
 τους κρ'.

**Date:** 120 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 225 – 21 March AD 226.

*Comments:* 'Ahire is the northernmost location for which the era of provincia Arabia is attested in this century.

26. *BOSTRA* two stone fragments  
 Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 300-301, no. 9318.

[ 'Α]μμία Πάλμα Βά-  
 [σσ]ου καὶ Αἰδεσίου Μάν-  
 [ου γυ]νὴ ἐξήσεν ἔτη ν[.].  
 ΠΑΑ'.

**Date:** 131 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 236 – 21 March AD 237.

*Comments:* Sartre suggests that the letters ΠΑΑ indicate the date of the inscription, although he accepts the order of the figures as quite unusual: hundreds, units, tens.

27. *IRBID* block(?)  
 Bibl. G.M. Whicher, *AJA* 10 (1906), pp. 289-94; H.-G. Pflaum, *Syria* 29 (1952), pp. 315-16 and p. 307, note 2.

'Αγαθῇ τύχη.  
 Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτο-  
 κράτορος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ),  
 ἐπὶ Δομιτίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ὑπατι-  
 5 κοῦ, ἐφεστῶτος Καλ(πορνίου) Σατορνεῖνου χειλιάρχου,  
 προεδρείας Θεοδώρου Βάσσου, ἐπισκοπευόν-  
 των Αὐρ(ηλίων) Σαβεῖνου Νεαγίου καὶ Σαβεῖνου Βάσ-  
 σου τῶν βουλευτῶν, καὶ Ζηνοδώρου Ἀπολ<λ>ινα-

- ρίου συνβ(ουλεύοντος), διαταγῇ Φλ(αουῖου) Ουήρου,  
 10 ἐκ δημοσίου  
 πήχ(εις) ρλ´· ἔτ(ει) ρλγ´.

**Date:** 133 E.P.A. = after 1 June – 23 July AD 238 – 21 March AD 239.

*Comments:* For the dating systems used in Irbid see discussion in text, pp. 152-53. The 133rd year E.P.A. began on 22 March AD 238. At that time Balbinus and Pupienus ruled jointly until their assassination (various dates proposed, ranging between 1 June and 23 July AD 238: *RE* I, 2 [1958], col. 2623, s.v. Antonius no. 62 [P.v. Rohden]; Cagnat, pp. 216-17). Thus the Gordian involved was their successor, Gordian III.

28. *BOSTRA* lintel  
 Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 128-29, no. 9057.

[Υπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς Αὐτοκράτορος Καί-  
 σαρος  
 [Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Εὐτυχούς, πατρὸς) πατρίδος),  
 ἡ κολωνία ἐπὶ Μάρκ(ου)  
 [Δομιτίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ, πρ(εσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγου,  
 ἀνέστησεν ....., ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχ]είας ἑκατοστοῦ τριακοστοῦ τετάρτου.

**Date:** 134 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 239 – 21 March AD 240.

29. *ORMÂN* stele  
 Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 154, no. 1182.

Ἔτους ρλς´.  
 Σολα-  
 ιμάθ-  
 η Ἀνν-  
 5 ήλου,  
 ἐτ(ῶν) νε´,  
 κώμ(ης)  
 Τ[α]ρβ-  
 [αίων].

**Date:** 136 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 241 – 21 March AD 242.

*Comments:* M. Dunand, who first published the inscription (*RB* 42[1933], p. 246, no. 194), in converting the year numeral ρλς´ into Christian date inadvertently equated it with AD 341 instead of AD 241. In *SEG* 7 (1934) the same error is reproduced.

30. *AVDAT* tombstone  
 Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 24-25, no. 10; *SEG* 28 (1978), p. 389, no. 1390.

Αὐρ(ηλία) Μούλχη  
 Ἀβδομάνχου τοῦ  
 καὶ Ἀμλαίφου, ζήσα-

σα ἔτη πα', ἐτελεύτη-  
5 σεν δ' Ἄβ, ἔτους ρλζ'.

**Date:** 4 Ab 136 E.P.A. = 23 July AD 241.

31. *SAMAD* stele  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 14, no. 84; E.A. Knauf, *LA* 36 (1986), p. 343; *SEG* 36 (1986), p. 421, no. 1380.

Ἔτος ρλζ'.  
Ἀκυλίνα Ἀκ-  
ύλου, ἐτῶ(ν) κ',  
θάρσι.

**Date:** 137 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 242 – 21 March AD 243.

*Comments:* Steuernagel, the first publisher of the inscription (*ZDPV* 49 [1926], pp. 428-29), found it in Khirbet Beni Malek, but Knauf reports that the stele was discovered by a graduate student reused as a lintel in one of the houses of Samad, a village 11 km. south of Irbid.

32. *SHANNÍRAH* block(?)  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 157, no. 1208.

Θάρσι  
Γουμ-  
ουλάθ-  
η Οὐαβ-  
5 ᾶ, ἐτ(ῶν) λ'.  
Ἐτ(ει) ρμ'.

**Date:** 140 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 245 – 21 March AD 246.

33. *ORMÂN* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 477, no. 2017; Ewing, p. 280, no. 162; *IGRR* III, p. 470, no. 1306.

Μνήμης εἵνεκά πο-  
τε ἐν ζωοῖ ἐσθλῶν  
ἀνδρῶν Ὁταίσου το-  
κάος καὶ Οὐάλεν-  
5 τος κασιγνήτου  
ἐγ λεγεόνος, ἀνή[ρ]  
ὀνόματι Ἰουλιανός  
..... αἵματι τόνδ' ἐδείματο τύμβον, ἔτει ρμς' (or ρμ').

**Date:** 146 (or 140) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 251 (or 245) – 21 March AD 252 (or 246).

*Comments:* Waddington, followed by Cagnat, read the year numeral ρμς', while Ewing gives the reading ρμ'.

34. *SALCHAD* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 474, no. 1990.

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη.  
Θαῖμος Ναέμου,  
Σάβας Σίχμου,  
Βάσος Οὐλπίου,  
5 Βόρδος Σαι[ρή]λου,  
ἐπίσκοποι, ἐκ τ-  
ῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκτισαν,  
ἐτους ρμζ´.

Date: 147 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 252 – 21 March AD 253.

35. *ABU ZUREK* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 148, no. 1137.

Ἴνος Ἴνου, βου-  
λευτῆς, οἰκο-  
δόμεσα τὸ μ-  
νημῖον, ρμη´.

Date: 148 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 253 – 21 March AD 254.

36. *EL-KERAK (Kanata)* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 549, no. 2412f.

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν κυρίων, (upper margin)  
ἐπισκοποῦντων Ἀνέ-  
μου Σαβίνου καὶ Βαυλά-  
νης Ὀδενίθου καὶ Πασί-  
5 φίλος Καμασάνου ἐκτί-  
σθη ὁ οἶκος ἐκ φιλοτιμίας  
τῆς κόμης, ἐξ ὧν ἔδωκεν  
Ἰουλιανὸς Διονυ(σίου) (δηναρίων) φ´.  
Ἐτους/ ρμ/η´. (left margin)

Date: 148 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 253 – 21 March AD 254.

37. *EL-KUREYE* stone fragment  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 299, no. 657.

-----  
Ἐτους ρμη´.

Date: 148 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 253 – 21 March AD 254.

38. *UMM EL-QUTṬAYN* block  
Bibl. H.I. MacAdam and D.F. Graf, *ADAJ* 33 (1989), pp. 183-84, no. 7; H.I. MacAdam, *GA* 5 (1986) [forthcoming].

Ἀβδάλα Ἀβ-  
δοῦ, Σαείος  
Σαδάλλου  
οἰκοδόμη(σαν).  
5 Ἐτη ρν᾽ Βοσ(τηρηῶν) or Βόσ(της).

**Date:** 150 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 255 – 21 March AD 256.

39. *DER'A* block (?)  
Bibl. H.-G. Pflaum, *Syria* 29 (1952), p. 309, no. 2; *SEG* 16 (1959), p. 217, no. 806.

[.....]ίου Γαλλωνιανοῦ, τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡ-  
μῶν ἡγεμόνος, ἐφεστῶτο[ς Φλαουϊανοῦ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίου)]  
[---]τους ρν [α', β' or γ].

**Date:** 151-153 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 256 – 21 March AD 259.

*Comments:* Pflaum indicated that this inscription should probably be dated a little earlier than inscription no. 41 since Gallonianus, called “κτίστης” in the latter, does not bear the same surname in the former. If this argument is valid, the date of the text can further be fixed between ρνα' and ρνγ' given the fact that the units figure of the year numeral is missing.

40. *PETRA* altar  
Bibl. *PA* I, p. 222, no. 60, 11; *PA* III, p. 328.

----- ΙΑ  
---- ιερεὺς Ἰσιδ[-  
[ος] Ρ...CC.ΛΟΥ ἀνέθηκεν,  
ἔτους ρνα', μη-  
νὸς Σιουᾶν κς'.

**Date:** 26 Siwan 151 E.P.A. = 15 June AD 256.

41. *DER'A* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 16 (1959), p. 217, no. 805.

-----  
ΟΥC ἐγ δωρεᾶς τῶν αὐτῶν Σεβ(αστῶν), προνοία Γα-  
λλωνιανοῦ, τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγε-  
μόνος κτίστου, ἐφεστῶτος Φλαουϊανοῦ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίου),  
[ἐ]τους ρνδ'.

**Date:** 154 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 259 – 21 March AD 260.

42. *HET* block  
Bibl. Ch. Fossey, *BCH* 21 (1897), p. 41, no. 8; *PA* III, p. 328.

Λ δνρ'. Θε[ο]-  
δάμας Ζά(βδου)  
καὶ ΣΑΙΑΔΘ ---  
-----

Date: 154 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 259 – 21 March AD 260.

43. *DER'A* block  
Bibl. H.-G. Pflaum, *Syria* 29 (1952), pp. 312-13.

Ἵπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτο-  
κράτορ(ος) Γαλλινοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ), ἀφιερῶθη ὁ πύρ-  
γος μετὰ τῆς δεκανίας, προνοία Ἰουνίου  
Ἰόλμπου τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος,  
5 ἐφεστῶτος Φλαουιανοῦ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίου), προεδ(ρία)  
Μάγνου Βάσσου, ἔτ(ους) ρνζ'.

Date: 157 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 262 – 21 March AD 263.

44. *AYUN* altar (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 473, no. 1984e.

Ἐτ(ους) ρνη'.  
Μαριαν[οῦ]  
καὶ Ἀν[αί]-  
ου καὶ  
5 Μαξι-  
μου.

Date: 158 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 263 – 21 March AD 264.

45. *DER'A* block  
Bibl. H.-G. Pflaum, *Syria* 29 (1952), pp. 313-14.

Ἀγα/θῇ τύχῃ (in the left and right margin)  
Ἵπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος  
Γαλλινοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ), ἐκτίσθη τὸ τῆχος ἐκ δωρεᾶς τοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ),  
προνοία Σ-  
τατιλίου Ἀμμιανοῦ τοῦ κρατίστου διέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν,  
ἐφεστῶτος Ἰου(λίου) Ἰσιδώρου [στ]ρατόρος, ὑπηγ(ήσει) Οὐήρου ἀρχ-  
ιτέ-  
5 κτονος, προεδ(ρία) Μάγνου Βάσσου, ἐπισκοπῇ Αἰλίου Βάσσ-  
ου καὶ Ζηνοδόρου, Ταυρίνου καὶ Σαβίνου Γερμανοῦ.  
Ἐτ(ους) ρνη'.

Date: 158 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 263 – 21 March AD 264.

46. 'AVDAT lintel  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 12-13, no. 1b.

ἔτους  
ρξβ',  
μνησθῆ  
Σοαίδος.

**Date:** 162 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 267 – 21 March AD 268.

47. DER'A block  
Bibl. H.-G. Pflaum, *Syria* 29 (1952), p. 317, no. 5; *SEG* 16 (1959), p. 219, no. 813.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος ΑΒΑ [|---|]  
Σεβ(αστοῦ), ἐκτίσθη εὐτυχῶς ἡ δεκανία, προνοία τοῦ δ(ιασημοτάτου)  
ἡμῶν ἡ(γεμόνος) Φλ(αουῖου)  
Αἰλιανοῦ, ἐφεστῶτων Ὀνοράτου καὶ Μάρκου (ἐκατοντάρχων), ἐπισ-  
κοπευόντων τῶν περὶ Ζήνωνα Ζήνωνος κυέστορα  
5 ἀρχιδέκανον καὶ Πρεῖσκον Σαβεῖνου καὶ Σάμεθον Διονεῖκου  
καὶ Σῆον Μάγνου καὶ Βαδαβῆλον Αὔσου, ἔτους ρξδ'.

**Date:** 164 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 269 – 21 March AD 270.

*Comments:* In *SEG* it is written “ἔτους ρξθ’” without explanation. We retain Pflaum’s reading, however.

48. 'AYŪN stele  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 473, no. 1984b; *IGRR* III, p. 470, no. 1305.

Ἐπλα-  
κώ < θ > η  
τὸ ἱερὸ-  
ν, ἐπὶ Ἀλ-  
5 ε < ξ > ἀνδ-  
< ρ > ου, Β < α > -  
< θ > οὔρου,  
οὔετρ(ανοῦ), κὲ  
Γερ < μ > αν-  
10 οὗ ΥC  
YCΠ.E,  
ἔτ(ους) ρξζ',  
Ὑπερβε-  
ρετέου.

**Date:** Hyperberetaios 167 E.P.A. = 18 September – 17 October AD 272.



49. *DER'A* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 16 (1959), p. 219, no. 814.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος  
[Αὐρηλιανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἐκτίσθη εὐτυχῶς ἡ δεκανία, προνοίας  
Φλ(αουῖου) Αἰλιανοῦ τοῦ δ(ιασημοτάτου) ἡ(μῶν) [ἡ(γεμόνος)], ἐφ-  
εστῶτων Ὀνωράτου κ[αὶ Μ]άρκου (ἐκατοντάρχων) καὶ Οὐήρο[υ....],  
ἐπισκοπευ-

5 ὄντων τῶν περὶ Ζηνόδωρον Βερνικιανοῦ τῶν πρώτων ἀ < ρ > χ[ι]-  
δέκανον καὶ Γερμανὸν τὸν καὶ Γάννων Ἀνάμου καὶ Μαζα-  
[βάν]αν Γερμανοῦ καὶ Μάσιμον Μαξίμου· ἔτ(ους) ρξθ'.

Date: 169 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 274 – 21 March AD 275.

50. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 181-82, no. 9108.

Ἐκ προνοίας Αὐρ(ηλίου) Πέτρου, τοῦ δια(σημοτάτου) ἡμῶν  
ἡγεμ(όνος) ἐκτίσθη τὸ τεῖχος, ἔτι ρογ', ἐ[πισκοποῦντος]  
Ἰουλ(ίου) Κυρίλλου.

Date: 173 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 278 – 21 March AD 279.

51. *EL-GHĀRIYE* stele  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 158, no. 1216.

Δω-  
σεῖθ-  
εος  
Ἀντ-  
5 ωνίν-  
φ. ἔτ(ους)  
ροε'.

Date: 175 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 280 – 21 March AD 281.

52. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 182-83, no. 9109.

Ἐκ προνοίας Αἰμιλλίου  
Αἰμιλλιανοῦ, τοῦ δ(ια)ση-  
μοτάτου ἡμῶ[ν] ἡγεμόνος],  
ἔτ(ους) ροζ', [ἐ]πισκοπ(ούντων) [Ἰουλίου]  
5 Κυρίλλου, ἀπὸ στρατιῶν  
καὶ τῶν περὶ Δωρυνιθ..

Date: 177 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 282 – 21 March AD 283.

53. *IMTÂN* fragment of a block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Voyage*, p. 175, no. 42; *PA* III, p. 330.

ΓΟΠΒ ----  
ΚΗΑΑΤΟΥΕΛ  
ΜΑΟΣ ΟΥ ἐγέ-  
[ν]ετο, [ἐ]τ(ους) θορ' IN.

**Date:** 179 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 284 – 21 March AD 285.

54. *'ORMÂN* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 153, no. 1172.

Ὅβεδος κὲ  
Γερμανὸς Ἐδίου κὲ  
Μάξιμος οἰ-  
κοδόμησαν,  
5 ἔτ(ει) ρπδ'.

**Date:** 184 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 289 – 21 March AD 290.

55. *'AVDAT* lintel  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 26-27, no. 13.

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη.  
Ζεῦ Ὁβοδα βοήθει  
Εἰρηναίῳ οἰκοδο-  
μοῦντι ἐπ' αἰσίοις  
5 τὸν πύργον, ἔτ(ους) ρπη',  
διὰ Οὐαέλου οἰκοδόμου Πετρέου καὶ Εὐτύχ-  
ους.

**Date:** 188 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 293 – 21 March AD 294.

56. *'AMRA* base  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 493, no. 2081; H.I. MacAdam, *Berytus* 31 (1983), p. 106.

Ἀουεῖδος  
Δάδου  
ἐποί-  
ησε  
5 τῇ  
Ἀθηνᾶ,  
σεννότο-  
υ ρ4'.

**Date:** 190 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 295 – 21 March AD 296.

*Comments:* According to Waddington, “σεννότου” is probably a transcription of the Hebrew word “shennat”, meaning year.

57. *ʿAwwas* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 482, no. 2041; *IGRR* III, p. 471, no. 1313.

Ἐτ(ους) ρζ', ἐπὶ Μάγνου  
καὶ Μάλχου, οὐε-  
τραῶν, καὶ Σαρι-  
μάθου καὶ Νασέρου  
5 [κα]ῖ Ἀμαθοῦου Γαλέσου.

Date: 190 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 295 – 21 March AD 296.

58. *EL-KUREYE* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), pp. 150-51, no. 1154.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.  
Ἐκτίσθη ἡ λίμνη ἔτους ρζ',  
ἐ < κ > κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων  
τῆς κώμης (δηναρίων) ἱε' μ(υριάδων), ἐκ προνοίας  
5 Φλ(αουῖου) Κορνηλιανοῦ, π(ριμι)π(ιλαρίου).

Date: 190 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 295 – 21 March AD 296.

#### 4th century AD

59. *DA'L*  
See P.E. no. 5.
60. *ʿORMÂN* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 154, no. 1183.

Ἐπεὶ Σαβεῖνου Ἀβγάρου  
κὲ Σα < δ > άθου Νασέρο[υ]  
κὲ Ἀζειζου Ὀνένου  
κὲ Δρακόντις Ἀζίζ-  
5 ου.  
< Ἐ > τ-  
υχ < ε >  
ἔτ(ει) σ'.

Date: 200 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 305 – 21 March AD 306.

61. *SAHWET EL-KHUDR* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 314, no. 681.

Ὁβαιδος Μαξίμου  
τὸ μνημεῖον οἰκο-  
δομήσας καὶ τὰ λείψα-

να τῶν γονέων συναγα-  
5 γών, κατέθαπεν. Ἐτ(ους) σ'.

**Date:** 200 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 305 – 21 March AD 306.

62. *DEIR EL-KAHF* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 126-27, no. 228.

[Imperatoribus] Caesari(bu)s F(l)(avio) Valerio  
[Constantio et] Gal(erio) Val(erio) Maximiano  
[piis felic(ibus) in]vic(tis) Aug(ustis) et  
[Fl(avio) Val(erio) Seve]ro et Gal(erio) Valerio  
5 [Maximino no]b(ilissimis) Caes(aribus). Ἐτους σα'.

**Date:** 201 E.P.A. = 22 March – 25 July AD 306.

*Comments:* Since Constantius Chlorus mentioned in the inscription died on the 25th of July AD 306, the date of the lintel should be placed between 22 March and 25 July AD 306 as the *PAES* editors rightly pointed out.

63. *IMTÂN* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 155, no. 1194.

Τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα  
Λαιτῖλα δουκην(άριος)  
πριμάκηρος, ἐτῶν  
νζ', ἔτι σα'.

**Date:** 201 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 306 – 21 March AD 307.

64. *AYŪN* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 473, no. 1984d.

Ἀβγαρος Μάξιμος  
καὶ Ἀουῖτος Σα-  
μαίης, προνοηταί, οἰκο-  
δόμησαν, ἔτ(ους) σδ'.  
5 Βάσσοις οἰκοδόμ(ο)ς.

**Date:** 204 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 309 – 21 March AD 310.

65. *AWWAS* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 482, no. 2042; *PA* III, p. 332.

Ἐτ(ους) σε', ἐπὶ Νασέρου  
᾽Οτεμίου καὶ Ἀλασ-  
άθου Γαλέσου, ᾽Οτεμί-

ου Αὔσου, Μάνου Οὐά-  
5 λεντο <ς>, προνο(η)τῶν.

**Date:** 205 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 310 – 21 March AD 311.

66. *EL-GHÂRIYE* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 157, no. 1211.

Βάνιος Γάδδου  
καὶ Ὅμρη Σολέμ-  
ου ἔκτισαν τὸ τρέ-  
κλινον, ἔτι σθ'.

**Date:** 209 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 314 – 21 March AD 315.

67. *MELAH ES-SARRÂR* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 328-29, no. 711.

Ζάγλος Ἀνίχου Ζ-  
εἰδος οἰκοδόμ-  
ησεν, ἔτους διακο-  
(σ)τοῦ (καὶ) [δ]εκάτου.

**Date:** 210 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 315 – 21 March AD 316.

68. *KHARABA* block  
Bibl. P. Séjourné, *RB* 7 (1898), p. 110; Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 696; *PA* III, p. 334.

Ἐκ καμάτων  
ιδίων ἔκτι-  
σεν Ὀδενο (in the tabula ansata) ς τὸ (in the right dovetail)  
μνήμα ἐών (in the tabula ansata) ιον (in the right dovetail)  
τὸ πένθους  
ἄξιον, ἐν ἔτι σια' (or σιε' or σιη')  
Σισδι/ρβίου ἐκτῆ/στη. (in the left dovetail)

**Date:** 211 (or 215 or 218) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 316 (or 320 or 323) – 21 March AD 317 (or 321 or 324).

*Comments:* Brünnow and Domaszewski gave the date σι[η] or σι[α] and Dussaud and Macler σιε'. Séjourné, on the other hand, read Ἱσ', a date rather impossible due to the ascending order of the year numeral. However, lack of photographs or drawings (except for that of Sejourné) does not allow us to choose from among the above mentioned dates.

69. *IMTÂN* block (?)  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Voyage*, p. 173, no. 37; *PA* III, p. 333.

Ἔγρος σιβ', Ἀρτεμισίῳ | --- ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος φρ]-  
ουμεντ(αρίου) στ(ρατιῶν) Μίου κ(αὶ) Α| ---- ],  
προνοητῶν, κ(αὶ) Σιλουα|νοῦ ----- ]  
Ἀμριλίου ἀπὸ (δεκαδάρχου) ἐκτίσθη --- ].

**Date:** Artemisios 212 E.P.A. = 21 April – 20 May AD 317.

70. *EL-KUFR* altar  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 105, no. 179.

Ἄβ[δος]  
τῶν Ἰε-  
[ρ]ωνίμ-  
ου, Ὁσ-  
5 νη σύν-  
βιος.  
Ἐτ(ους)  
σιγ'.

**Date:** 213 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 318 – 21 March AD 319.

71. *BOSTRA* lintel  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 184-85, no. 9111.

Ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς Με-  
γεθίου Γερμανοῦ β' καὶ Χεῖλω-  
νος Μαλχίωνος ἀρχόντων, τὸ  
τέμενος ἐκ θεμελίων ἐκτίσθη.  
Ἐτι (in the left dovetail)  
σιε'. (in the right dovetail)

**Date:** 215 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 320 – 21 March AD 321.

72. *BOSTRA* altar  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 332-33, no. 9396.

Φλ(αούιος) Μάξι-  
μος, στρ(ατιώτης)  
λεγ(εῶνος) γ' Κ-  
υρ(ηναϊκῆς), στρα-  
5 τευσάμ-  
ενος ἔ-  
τη κγ', ἀπο-  
θανῶν [ἐ]-

ν Μεσοπ-  
 10 [οταμί]q, [ο]ῦ τὰ ό[σ]-  
 τᾶ ἐν[θ]άδε κ-  
 [ιτ]ε ...  
 Ἔτι σιε΄.

Date: 215 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 320 – 21 March AD 321.

73. *HÓYET HIBIKKE* lintel (?)  
 Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 663, no. 64.

Ἐπὶ Ἀνείχου οὐετρανοῦ καὶ Ζάγλου Ἀσά-  
 δου καὶ Ἀζίζου Ἀλάμου καὶ Μαρρίνου οὐετρα-  
 [ν]οῦ, ἱεροταμίαις, ἐτελιώθη ὁ ναός, ἔτους σιε΄.

Date: 215 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 320 – 21 March AD 321.

74. *ORMÂN* altar  
 Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 153, no. 1178.

Θεῶ  
 Ἡρακ-  
 λῆ Αὐ-  
 σάλας  
 5 Δαχαί(ου)  
 οἰκοδό(μος),  
 ἔτ(ους) σιε΄, ἐξ ἰδί(ων)  
 ἀνέθε(κεν).

Date: 215 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 320 – 21 March AD 321.

75. *EL-KUFR* block  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 526, no. 2293.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Φίλιππος, β(ουλευτῆς) Β(οστρηνῶν?), καὶ Μ-  
 όνιμος καὶ Φαλέτα-  
 θος, υἱ τρῖς ἀδελφύ, κα-  
 ἱ Φίλιππος Φαλετάθου,  
 5 β(ουλευτῆς) Β(οστρηνῶν?), ἔτους σις΄ οἰκοδόμη(σαν).

Date: 216 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 321 – 21 March AD 322.

76. *BUSÂN* block (?)  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 518, no. 2238.

Ἐπὶ Δαρείου Αἰνείου  
 συνδίκου καὶ Μαξί-

μου Ἴνου καὶ Μαζά-  
 ζου Ἴνου, πιστῶν, ἐ-  
 5 τελέθῃ, ἔτους σ-  
 ιζ' τῆς ἐπαρχίου.

Date: 217 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 322 – 21 March AD 323.

77. *HÖYET HİBIKKE* block  
 Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 663, no. 63; *PA* III, p. 334.

Αὔσος  
 Μονέμο(υ),  
 βουλευτ-  
 ικός. Ἰο(υ)λιαν(ός)  
 οἰκ(οδόμος). (under the right dovetail)  
 Ἐτ(ους)/ σιζ'. (in the left dovetail)

Date: 217 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 322 – 21 March AD 323.

78. *SALCHAD* block  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 475, no. 1998.

Τοῦτο τὸ μνη-  
 μῖον ἔκτισεν  
 Ἄναμος Θασάμου.  
 Ἐτους/ σιζ'. (in the left margin)

Date: 217 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 322 – 21 March AD 323.

79. *ʿAYŪN* (now at *ʿOrmân*) fragments of a block  
 Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 323, no. 697.

Πρεῖ(σ)κ[ο]ς οὐετρ-  
 ανὸς οἰκ[ο]δόμη-  
 σεν, ἔτ[ο]υς σιη'.

Date: 218 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 323 – 21 March AD 324.

80. *ʿAWWAS* (now at *ʿOrmân*) block  
 Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 315-16, no. 685.

Ἐπὶ Μάρκου Πρίσ-  
 κου καὶ Βοσέλου Σαβί-  
 νου καὶ Γαλέσου Μάλχου,  
 προνοητῶν, ἐγένετο  
 5 ὁ τῖχος καὶ ἡ ἀψίδες,  
 ἔτ(ει) σιθ'. Σόμενος οἰκοδόμος).

Date: 219 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 324 – 21 March AD 325.



81. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 185, no. 9112.

Ἐπὶ κυαιοτορείας Μαξίμου Μάλχου, ἀνενεώθη ἡδ' ἐνπρόσοψις, ἐπισκο-  
πευσάν(των)  
ΟΝΑΣΛΟΛΙΟΥ Φρόντωνος καὶ Κλαυδίου ἀπὸ (ἐκατοντάρχων), συν-  
σπουδάσαντος Δουσαρίου, ἔτ(ους) σκ'.

Date: 220 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 325 – 21 March AD 326.

82. *SALCHAD* lintel (two fragments combined)  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 99, no. 168.

-----  
μνήμ < α > < ἐ > ν|φοκοδόμησεν Οὐα|λεν(τί)νος  
Μαξίμου, ἔτους [τῆς ἐπ(αρχίας)] σκ', ἀνα-  
< λ > ὦ < σ > α < ς > (δραχμὰς) μυρ(ίας) δ(ι)σχιλίας Σύρας.  
Μέως (?) ἐπόεσεν ἐν [ἔτι ....]. (under left dovetail)

Date: 220 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 325 – 21 March AD 326.

Comments: The reading of the inscription is problematic. Littmann's text is not compatible with his sketch of the stone.

83. *SÛR* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 425-26, no. 797<sup>2</sup>.

[Ἄ]γαθὴ τύχη.  
Ἡ οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ οἴκου ἐπετε-  
λέσθη δι' ἀγορᾶς Αἰανοῦ συνδίκου  
καὶ Ἰσού Ἀννήλου καὶ Πρίσκου Φι-  
5 λοκάλου καὶ Ζορέου Μάγνου,  
διοικητῶν τῆς μητροκωμίας,  
ἔτους διακοσσιαστοῦ εἰκοστοῦ  
πρώτου τῆς ἐπαρχείας.

Date: 221 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 326 – 21 March AD 327.

84. *'AWWAS* (now at 'Ormân) block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 325, no. 702.

[Ἐ]κ προνοί-  
[α]ς Νασέρο[υ]  
Ὁρέρου.  
Ἐτ(ους) σκ[.].'

Date: 22[1] – 22[9] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 326 – 21 March AD 335.

85. *SMĀD* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 61, no. 61.

Ἐκ προνοίας Σέος Ἡρανοῦ  
κὲ Σεουῆ(ρος) Γιήου, ἔτο(υς) σκβ'.

**Date:** 222 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 327 – 21 March AD 328.

86. *KHARABA* stele  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, pp. 694-95, no. 163; *PA* III, p. 334.

Νύμφε κ[ἐ]  
Νερείδες  
δέξασθε  
ἽΟνεζάθην  
5 ἽΟλέφου,  
ἀγνήν εὐ-  
γενίδα  
γυνέκα{ν}  
Πρόκλου,  
10 ἔτων λζ',  
ἔτι σκγ',  
ἽΥπερβ(ερεταίου) ιη'.

**Date:** 18 Hyperberetaios 223 E.P.A. = 5 October AD 328.

87. *'AWWAS* (now at 'Ormân) lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 325, no. 701.

Ἐκ προνοίας κὲ σπουδῆς Βοήθου Πρόκλου  
κὲ Νέστορος Σαδδάθου κὲ Ἀζίζου  
Οὐλπιανοῦ κὲ Θιέμου Ἀσμάθου, προ-  
νοητῶν, ἀφιερώθη ἡ βασιλικὴ κὲ ἡ θύρα,  
5 ἔτους σκε'.

**Date:** 225 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 330 – 21 March AD 331.

88. *EL-UMTA'ŶYE* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 51, no. 37.

[Ἐκτίσθη --- ἐ]κ τῶν τοῦ Κυ-  
[ρίου, --- ἐπιμελουμένων] τῶν ἐπισκόπ-  
[ων --- ]ρου Βάχρου καὶ  
[--- ] vacat ἔτους σκε'.

**Date:** 225 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 330 – 21 March AD 331.

89. *'ORMÂN* stele  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 321, no. 695.

Ἐνθά-  
δε κῆ-  
τε Μά-  
γνος  
5 Φιλίπ-  
που, ἕκ-  
γονος  
Μάγνου  
στρατη-  
10 γου, ζή-  
σας ἔτη κ-  
θ'. Θάρ(σ)ι, οὐδ-  
ις ἀθάνα-  
τος, σκθ'.

**Date:** 229 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 334 – 21 March AD 335.

90. *EL-MUSHENNEF* epistyle  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 516, no. 2222; *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 142, no. 1078.

[.....<sup>ca.15</sup>.....]  
[... τῇ|ν θύραν (?) Ω  
ο[ικοδόμησ]εν, σλ'.

**Date:** 230 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 335 – 21 March AD 336.

*Comments:* *SEG*'s reading of the inscription based on M. Dunand's (*RB* 41 [1932], p. 576, no. 124), is quite different from that proposed by Waddington (given here). All editors, however, agree in rendering the final two letters as a year numeral.

91. *EL-MU'ARRIBE* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 276, no. 611.

[Ἐκ προ]νοίας Κορηλ[ίου --- ]  
[Γεανο]υ πιστῶν καὶ ΤΕ ---  
[Εὐνόμ]ου Κασίου, προνο[ητῶν, ἐκτίσθη ὁ]  
[κοινὸς] οἶκος ἐν ἔτι σλα'. Δ ---  
5 [Εὐτυχί]τε].

**Date:** 231 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 336 – 21 March AD 337.

92. *SALCHAD* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 657, no. 43.

Ἐνθάδε κίτε Δημήτρ(ιος)?].  
Ἐτ(ους) σλγ'.

**Date:** 233 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 338 – 22 March AD 339.

93. *SALCHAD* block (?)  
Bibl. M. Dunand in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, vol. 2 (*BAH* 30, Paris 1939), p. 561, no. 255.

Σώπατρος Ῥέμου, οἰκ[οδό]-  
μος, οἰκοδόμησεν, ἔτι σλε' (or σλθ').  
Μνήσθητη Ὠβηδος.

**Date:** 235 (or 239) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 340 (or 344) – 21 March AD 341 (or 345).

94. *AYŪN* stele  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 473, no. 1986.

Ἐπαύ-  
σετο  
Αὐθο-  
ς, ἔτους  
5 σλε',  
μηνὸ(ς)  
Ἀπελ(λαίου)  
ID'.

**Date:** 14 Apellaios 235 E.P.A. = 30 November AD 340.

*Comments:* The drawings of the inscription show the last two letters rendered in the Latin alphabet judging mainly from the letter D. Since the name of the month is the Macedonian Apellaios, one should seriously consider Waddington's idea that the two letters represent the month day ιδ', although use of Latin letters to indicate numerals according to the Greek fashion is strange.

95. *BUSÂN* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 519, no. 2247.

Χαῖρε μάκαρ	Ἐσμάηλος
Βάναθε σὺν	καὶ Βάναθος,
ἱεροῖς τέκν-	υἱοὶ Παύλου,
οἰς Μάγνω τ-	συνκτίσαν-
5 ε καὶ Ἐσμάηλ-	τες τὸ μνη-

φ, ὃς καὶ τὸς                      μῖον, μέγα  
 ἅμα θεοῖσι ἱκελ-                κῦδος ζών-  
 ος καὶ θνητοῖσι.                τες ἔλαχαν.  
 Ε/ΟΑΙΚΑ/τὸ χίλι/ον (in the left dovetail)  
 Ἐτ/ους ζλ/σ'. (in the right dovetail)

Date: 236 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 341 – 21 March AD 342.

96. *ORMĀN* block (?)  
 Bibl. Ewing, p. 279, no. 159.

Εὐτυχῶς.  
 Ὑπάτιος Μαρκι-  
 ανοῦ, ζώντος τοῦ  
 πατρός, τὸ μνημῖ(ο)ν  
 5 ἐξ ιδίων ἐκτισεν, σλζ'.

Date: 236 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 341 – 21 March AD 342.

97. *IMTĀN* block (?)  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 481, no. 2036.

Τεσσαρακοντούτης Στερκορία  
 Γάλλιξ ἐνθάδε κῆτε, πόλ(εως) Ῥατομάγου.  
 Μονῶν < α > π' ἔης καὶ τὸ μνημα τοῦθ', ὡς  
 ὀρᾶς, ἐκ θεμελίων μέχρις ὕψους Φλ(αούιος)  
 5 Γεσσίκας ἀνὴρ π(ο)τ' ἐξ ιδίων ἐξετέλεσ(εν),  
 ἀναλώσας (δηνάρια) μύ(ρια) (πεντακισχίλια), ἐν ἔτι σλζ'.

Date: 237 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 342 – 21 March AD 343.

98. *IMTĀN* pillar  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 481, no. 2035.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας  
 καὶ νείκης τῶν  
 δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν  
 Κωνσταντίου καὶ  
 5 Κώνσταντος Αὐ-  
 γούστων, ἐκοσμή-  
 θη ἡ πλάτις ἱερα-  
 τικὴ τῇ ἰ(ε)ρᾷ ἡμέρᾳ,  
 ἔτι σλη'.

Date: 238 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 343 – 21 March AD 344.

99. *SAHWET EL-KHUDR* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 471, no. 1970.

Ἐκ προ[νοία]ς κὲ σπου-  
δῆς Ῥα[μά]δου? Σαμέ-  
θου κὲ Σαβίνου Θέ-  
μου κὲ Μαλιχάθου οἰκοδο[μ]-

5 ἦθη.

Ἐτ(ους) / σ/λ/θ'. (in the right margin)

**Date:** 239 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 344 – 21 March AD 345.

100. *UMM EL-JIMÂL* lintel broken into two pieces  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA3, pp. 151-53, no. 262.

Ἰουλιανοῦ τόδε μνήμα, μακρῶ βεβαρημένῳ ὕπνου,  
ὃ Ἄγαθος δέιματο πατὴρ κατὰ δάκρυον εἰβὼν,  
κοιμητηρίου παρὰ τέρμα κοινοῦ λαοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
ᾧ αὐτὸν αἰεδοῖεν ἀμείνων εἰς αἰὶ λαὸς

5 ἀμφά <ι> δια, Ἀγάθῳ πάροιθεν πρεσβυτέρῳ  
πιστὸν ἐόντ' ἀγαπητόν, ἐτέων δύο καὶ δέκα ὄντα.

Ἐ/τ- (in the left margin)

ο(υς) / σ/λ/θ'. (in the right margin)

**Date:** 239 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 344 – 21 March AD 345.

*Comments:* Littmann rightly pointed out that “the letters which record the date are plain, but cannot be read ‘ἔτος λθ’”, because of the mention in the inscription of a public Christian cemetery, which could hardly have existed in AD 144”.

101. *ANZ* stele  
Bibl. M. Dunand in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, vol. 2  
(*BAH* 30, Paris 1939), p. 565, no. 271.

Θάρσι Ζήνων  
Ἀλεξάνδρου, τοῦ  
κὲ Κατίου, χ(ιλίαρχος) ὁρδε-  
νάρις πρίνκιψ,

5 ἐτῶν ν'. Οὐδὶς ἀθ-

άνατος. Ἐτους

σμ'.

**Date:** 240 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 345 – 21 March AD 346.

102. *SALCHAD* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, pp. 475-76, no. 1999; *PA* III, p. 336.

Ἀμβριλίου καὶ Ζήνωνος, υἱῶν  
Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Κατίου, τὸ μνήμα,

- ἀμφοτέρων χ(ιλιάρ)χ(ων) ὀρδιναρίων, ὅπερ συν-  
 ετελέσθη διὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀμβριλίου  
 5 καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ζήνωνος, περιόντ-  
 ος τοῦ Ἀμβριλίου ἐν ἔτι σμ'. Πρῶτος  
 δὲ περιεστάλη ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Ζήνων, ἐ-  
 τῶν ν'. Ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν οἰκο-  
 δόμων Πάκατος καὶ Θαῖμος καὶ Αὐθο-  
 10 ς καὶ Ἀστέρις· ἀνηλώθησαν (δηναρίων) γ' μ(υριάδες).

Date: 240 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 345 – 21 March AD 346.

103. *ER-RUSHEIDE* block  
 Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 667, no. 74; *PA* III, p. 336.

Ἐκ προνύας Φεσάνο-  
 υ Ἀμέρου καὶ Ἰδδου Ναγό-  
 σου καὶ Δύλλου Ὀβέδου,  
 προνοητῶν, ἀνεώθ-  
 5 η ἔτους σμα' ὁ οἴκ-  
 ος. Εὐτυχίτω ἡ κώμη.

Date: 241 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 346 – 21 March AD 347.

104. *DEIR EL-KAHF* (now at *I'nât*) block  
 Bibl. *PA* III, p. 336; *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 124-25, no. 224.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου μου  
 Σιλουϊνιανοῦ, τοῦ δ(ια)σ(η)μ(ο)τάτου)  
 δουκός, ἐγένετο ὁ  
 πύργος,  
 5 ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπου-  
 δῆς Πρίσκου, ἐπάρ-  
 χου. Ἐτετι σμγ'.

Date: 243 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 348 – 21 March AD 349.

105. *RADEIME* block (?)  
 Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 140, no. 1062.

Ἐκ προνοί[ια]ς καὶ διατυ-  
 πώσεως [Φ]λ(αουῖου) Ἀρχελάου,  
 τοῦ λαμπρ[ο]τάτου κόμιστος  
 καὶ ἡγεμόνος, τὸ φρούρι-  
 5 ον ἐκτίσθη, ἔτι σμδ'.

Date: 244 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 349 – 21 March AD 350.

106. *EL-KUFR*  
See C.C. no. 43.

107. *EL-KUFR* block  
Bibl. Ewing, p. 276, no. 151.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μιάλελλ[ο]ς Βούρδου, β(ουλευτής?) Β(οστρηνῶν?), ἐξ  
ιδίων καμ[ά]των οἰκο-  
δόμησεγ [τ]ὸ μνημῖον,  
προνοίῃ [Ἄρ]τάππης γυνε-  
5 κὸς καὶ Βα[ρβ]άρου καὶ Βούρ-  
δου καὶ Μά[λ]σχου τέκνων  
αὐτοῦ, [ἐ]ν ἔτω σμε΄.

Date: 245 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 350 – 21 March AD 351.

108. *EL-MESHKŪK* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 103-104, no. 177.

Ἄγαθῇ τύχη. Εὐ(χ)τυχῶς ἐ-  
κοδομήθη ὁ πύργος.  
Βάσσος, ο(α)ὕ(ε)τρ(α)νὸς ἐξ ὀρ-  
δεναρίῳ σ(τ)ρατιόμενος ἐμ  
5 Μεσοποταμίας. Ὀράνιος  
οἰκοδό[μος].  
Ἄνελ(ώ)θη/ μύρια/ δην(άρια)/ ε΄ (or θ΄) (in the left dovetail)  
χιλι(ά)δες (above the left dovetail)  
Ἦτους/σμε΄. (in the right dovetail)

Date: 245 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 350 – 21 March AD 351.

109. *IMTÂN* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 481, no. 2037.

+ Λ(ούκιος) Οὐρσος, ἀκτουάρις οὐ-  
ιξιλλατιόνος Μοθανῶν, τῷ μ-  
νῆμα οἰκοδομήσας ἐκ θημελίω-  
ν, ἔτους σμε΄, μηνὶ Ἰουνίου κγ΄.  
5 Ἐνθάδῃ κίτε Οὐρσος, βίορχος πατήρ  
τοῦ ὑποτεταγμένου Οὐρσου, διὰ τῆς ἐπιμη-  
λίας [Τ]ί(του?) Κλ(αυδίου?). Αὐξίτω. Οἰκεία τῆς ἀναπαύση[ω]ς  
οἰκομέ(νω).  
Χαί/αμ[ο]/ς οἰκ/οδόμος (in the left margin)  
[Ἄν]ήλωσα δραχμάς] μ(υρίας) χιλ/ίας/ Σύρο(υς),/ ἐγὼ ὁ/ Ὀρσος  
ἐξ ιδί/ων/ [π]ό[νων]. (in the right margin)

Date: 23 June 245 E.P.A. = 23 June AD 350.



110. *KHIRBET EL-ARADJI* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 511, no. 2194; *PA* III, p. 337.

Ἐκ προνοίας  
Φλ(αουῖου) Σαλουῖνι-  
ανοῦ, τοῦ γενε-  
ωτάτου δουκός,  
5 τὸ φρούριον ἐκ-  
τίσθη, ἔτι σμζ´.

Date: 246 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 351 – 21 March AD 352.

111. *SALCHAD* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 476, no. 2000; *PA* III, p. 337.

[ἽΟ δεῖνα καὶ] Σονέ-  
|ας καὶ ὁ δεῖνα Ἰω|άννου  
|τοῦ --- |ου υἱοί, το-  
|ῦτον τὸν| τάφον ἀ-  
5 |νήγειραν, ἔ|τους σμζ´.  
|Ἀνήλωσαν ἐπ|τ]ὰ μυριάδας χιλ/ίας. (above the tabula ansata)

Date: 246 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 351 – 21 March AD 352.

112. *SALCHAD* block broken in two pieces  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 655, no. 36; *PA* III, p. 337.

Οὔτο[ς] ὁ πύργος ἐγένε-  
το ΗΕ[.] ἐπὶ Μαρκιανοῦ, τέκ(νου)  
Ἀρισ[τ]ίου, μετὰ Αἰλάμον  
τέκν[ον] Μαξίμου καὶ Ἰουλί-  
5 ας ΜΙ .. θκ´ (δηνάρια), λ(ίτρας) ελ´, ἔτους σμζ´.

Date: 246 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 351 – 21 March AD 352.

113. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 360-62, no. 9439.

Ἐπὶ ἱερ(έως) Ἰ(ω)άνν(ου) καὶ  
Σκαῦρου Δουσαρίου,  
διοικητῶν <ι> ἐπ' ὀνίας συ-  
κῆς ἡγοράσθη τὰ ἐργα(στ)ή(ρ)ια,  
5 ἔτ(ους) σμζ´.  
-----  
(Δ)ουσα(ρ)ί-  
ου Αὔ(σ)ο(υ)

(κ)αὶ Δου-  
 10 σαρίου  
 Δουσ(α)ρ(ι)-  
 ου ΣΥΝΟ[....].

**Date:** 247 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 352 – 21 March AD 353.

114. *BURĀK (Hauranitis)* lintel  
 Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 660, no. 51.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.  
 Ἐκ προνοίας  
 Ὀλέφου καὶ Ἀνά-  
 χου καὶ Βοδέρου.  
 5 Ἔτους σμη', θι' Ἀπε[λ]λ(αίου).

**Date:** 19 Apellaios 248 E.P.A. = 5 December AD 353.

*Comments:* The editors read θμ' in the place of the year numeral. Based on the drawing given by Dussaud and Macler, we restore the year figure as σμη' and read the letters following the year numeral as θι' Ἀπε[λ]λ(αίου). Of course lack of any other evidence prevents us from being absolutely certain about the correct reading of the fifth line.

115. *'Awwas* block  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 482, no. 2045; *PA* III, p. 337.

-----  
 [...ca.12] καὶ  
 Πρίσκου Οὐάλεντος  
 καὶ Ὀτεμίου Ἀέδου,  
 πιστῶν, ἐκτίσθη οἴκο-  
 ς, ἔτους σμη'.

**Date:** 249 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 354 – 21 March AD 355.

116. *EL-HĪT* block (?)  
 Bibl. Waddington, pp. 499-500, no. 2124; *PA* III, pp. 337-38.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) Εὐλογίου, πρε-  
 σβ(υτέρου) κ(αὶ) ἀρχιμανδρ(ίτου), κ(αὶ) Δωέρου πρ(εσ)β(υτέρου)  
 κ(αὶ) Ἡλία διακ(όνου), Σαβινιανός, διάκ(ονος) κ(αὶ) οἰ-  
 κονόμος, ἔκτισεν καὶ ἀνέγειρεν  
 ἱερὸ(ν)/ Σέρ/γιν (above and under right dovetail)  
 ἔτους/σμη', /μιν(ι) Μαρ/τί(ω). (above and under left dovetail).

**Date:** March 249 E.P.A. = 22 – 31 March AD 354 or 1 – 21 March AD 355.

*Comments:* Since there is no indication of the indiction year, we cannot determine which part of March is meant here.

117. *EL-KUREYE* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 470, no. 1964; *PA* III, p. 338.

Ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς  
[Μα]λιχάθου καὶ Σεουήρου Μα-  
[λέχ]ο[υ] Βαθο[ν]όρου ἐκτίσθη, ἔτ(ους) σν'.

**Date:** 250 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 355 – 21 March AD 356.

118. *BUSÂN* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Voyage*, pp. 154-55, no. 19; *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 340-41, no. 732.

Ἐκ προνοίας καὶ  
σπουδῆς Μάγ-  
νου Ἐριννιανοῦ  
συνδίκου καὶ Ἀμ-  
5 μωνίου καὶ Μάλχου,  
πιστῶν, ἐτυπώθη τὸ δ-  
ημ- (below the right dovetail)  
όσιον, (in the right dovetail)  
ἔτ- (above the left dovetail)  
ους σν[γ]. (in the left dovetail)

**Date:** 25[3] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 358 – 21 March AD 359.

*Comments:* Concerning the units figure Γ of the year numeral, in *PAES* it is noted that “the letter has presumably been obliterated since MM. Dussaud and Macler saw the stone”.

119. *ORMÂN* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 478, no. 2019; *PA* III, p. 338.

Γαῦτος Σολέμου,  
βουλευτῆς Φιλιπ-  
πουπολ(ιτῶν), ἐξ ιδίων  
οἰκοδόμησεν  
5 τόδε μνῆμα,  
ἔτι σνγ'.

**Date:** 253 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 358 – 21 March AD 359.

120. *ORMÂN* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 152, no. 1170.

Εὐνόμου υἱ[ὸ]ς Ἰέρι[ο]ς καὶ  
Σαδάλλας Σαρεδάθου,  
πιστοί, τὸ φρούριον ἀναλοῖσα-

ντες ἀνεναίωσαν, ἔτι σνδ',  
5 {σνδ'}.

**Date:** 254 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 359 – 21 March AD 360.

121. *SĀLA* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 521, no. 2254; *PAES* IIIA5, p. 335, no. 724.

Γάδουος Θέμο(υ)  
καὶ Ἀτάσαθος,  
Σαλαμανήσθιοι,  
ἐκτήσαντο, ἔτ(ους)  
5 σνδ'. <E> ὑτυχῶς.

**Date:** 254 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 359 – 21 March AD 360.

122. *SĀLA* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 336-37, no. 726.

Ἐνθάδε κέτε Ἄμ-  
ας <Θέ> μου φίλτα(τ)ο-  
ς πάντων· <έ> μοι τύ-  
μβον ἔκτεσεν π[α]-  
5 τήρ καὶ Ταβειάθθ,  
πότνια μήτηρ,  
ἐκτελέσαντε  
μέγα ἔργον, οὗ  
κλέος οὐποτ' ὦ-  
10 λῖτε. Ἐ[τ]ρους σνδ'.  
Εὐ/τύχι (in the left dovetail)  
μ<ή> τη<ρ>. (in the right dovetail)

**Date:** 254 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 359 – 21 March AD 360.

123. *ANZ* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 108-109, no. 186.

Ἐπὶ κρατήσεως Φλ(αουῖου) Κλ(αυδίου) Ἰουλιανοῦ  
αὐτοκράτορος Αὐγούστου,  
ἀνίθθ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνοικοδο-  
μήθθ καὶ ἀφιερῶθθ ὁ να-  
5 ὅς, ἐν ἔτ(ει) σνς', Δύσ(τ)ρου ε'.

**Date:** 5 Dystros 256 E.P.A. = 19 February AD 362.

124. *MEDJEL ESH-SHÔR* (now at 'Ormân) fragment of a block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 480, no. 2029; *PAES* IIIA5, p. 326, no. 705.

Ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπου-  
δῆς Γαβδούου καὶ Σωπά-  
τρον καὶ Ἀμιράθου, πιστῶν,  
ἐκτίσθη ὁ δημόσιος οἶκος, ἔτι σνζ'.

**Date:** 257 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 362 – 21 March AD 363.

125. *SALCHAD* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, pp. 656-57, no. 42; *PA* III, p. 339.

Καὶ Οὐάλεντος  
ἈΔΙ.Α καὶ Σω-  
πάτρον [Θ]έμου,  
πιστῶν, οἰκο-  
5 δομήθη, ἔτ(ους) σνη'.

**Date:** 258 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 363 – 21 March AD 364.

126. *'ORMÂN* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 154, no. 1181.

[Ἐπὶ ---- ]  
-----  
νου ἐγένετο τὸ μν-  
ῆμα, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκνιτε Ἀμ-  
μώνιος υἱός, ἐν ἔτ[ι] σνθ'.

**Date:** 259 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 364 – 21 March AD 365.

127. *UMM ER-RUMMÂN* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 84, no. 2054; *PA* III, p. 339.

Θαιμήλου  
καὶ Αὔθου,  
υἱοὶ Ζαβο-  
ύδου, τὸ κ-  
5 τί- ἐν  
ζμα ἔτ(ει) σνθ'.

**Date:** 259 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 364 – 21 March AD 365.

128. *BUSÂN* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 518, no. 2239.

Ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς  
Παυλείνου, συνδίκου καὶ [Λ]ο-  
υκ[ιλίαν]οῦ, πιστῶν, τῶν

----- ΕΤΑΞΥΤΩΝ

- 5 ----- ἡ πηγὴ ἐθε-  
μελιώθη καὶ ἀνενεώθ-  
η, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ.  
Ἔτο/υς σξ' / τῆς/ ἐπ- (in the left dovetail)  
α/ρχ(ίας). (below the left dovetail)

**Date:** 260 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 365 – 21 March AD 366.

129. *UMMER-RUMMÂN* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 107, no. 183.

Φλα(ούιος) Ζοέδαθος Μανέλο-  
υ, οὐτρανός, καὶ Οὐαελάθε,  
συνβίου αὐτοῦ, ἐν [ἐ]τ(ει) σξα'.

**Date:** 261 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 366 – 21 March AD 367.

130. *'ORMÂN* fragment of a block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 153, no. 1171.

--- ἄρου κ[αί]  
--- ογέου προγ[οη]τῶν]  
--- [ἐκτ]ισθη, ἔτι σξβ'.

**Date:** 262 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 367 – 21 March AD 368.

131. *KHURAIYIB* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 60, no. 59.

Σάδος Ἀλέ-  
ξιοτος καὶ  
Σαβεῖνος Σαβεί-  
νου, πεστύς.

- 5 Ἔτους δεσσια-  
κοστοῦ ξδ'.

**Date:** 264 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 369 – 21 March AD 370.

*Comments:* The ordinal number δεσσιακοστοῦ stands probably for διακοσιοστοῦ instead of τεσσαρακοσιοστοῦ, suggested in *PAES*. The latter alternative gives a very late date whereas the former is closer to the etymology of the word and complies better with the palaeography of the text.

132. *SALCHAD* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 476, no. 2001; *PA* III, p. 340.

Βάσσοϛ Ἀνδρομάχου  
ὀρφανός, ἀνατραφεὶς  
ἐξ ἰδίων καμάτων,  
μετὰ τέκνων οἰκο-  
5 δόμησαν τὸ μνήμα,  
ἐν/ ἔτι /σξ/δ´. (in the right dovetail)  
Β/άσ/σοϛ/ ο|ίκ|ο/δό(μοϛ) (in the left dovetail)  
MITΩN. (outside the left dovetail)

Date: 264 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 369 – 21 March AD 370.

133. *DĪBfN* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Voyage*, p. 191, no. 70; *PA* III, p. 340.

Ἐγένετ(ο) τὸ ἔρ-  
γον ἐπὶ Σεοή-  
ρου Ἀέδου κ-  
ἐ Σέου Ῥογάτ-  
5 ου κὲ Σέου Αἰέ-  
βου κὲ Μοκεέ-  
μου, πιστ(ῶν), ἔτ(ουϛ) σ <ξ> ε´.  
.. Θεός μου δὲ β(οήθει?) (above the tabula ansata)  
Α/ῦ/ξ/ι/ Ῥ/ο/γ/άτ(ε) (outside the left dovetail)  
Α/|ῦ|/ξ(ι) Α/ιδ/ε. (outside the right dovetail)

Date: 265 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 370 – 21 March AD 371.

134. *ʿORMĀN* (brought from *ʿAwwas* or *Melah eṣ-Ṣarrâr*) block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 321-23, no. 696.

Ἐπίνοια τρικλίνου  
καὶ τοῦ ἔνδον βουστασί|ο|υ,  
προνοητῶν Νασέρου Ὀνέ-  
|νο|υ καὶ Ἀζίζου Μοεάρου καὶ Μ <ά> νου  
5 |Θι|έμ(ου) καὶ Σιλουανοῦ Ὀτέμου Ε  
..NCYTA.. καὶ ἀναλύσεως καὶ διορ-  
<θ> ὡσεως πύργων δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερό, ἔτει  
σξξ´.

Date: 267 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 372 – 21 March AD 373.

135. 'ORMÂN (*brought from 'Awwas or Melah eṣ-Ṣarrâr*) block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 317-18, no. 689.

[Ἐπὶ Ἀζίζου Μοε]-  
άρου, [Σιλουα]-  
νοῦ Ὀτέμ[ου, Ν]-  
ασέρου Ὀνέγ[ου],  
5 Μάνου Θιέμ[ου]  
(ἐγ)ένοντο οἱ δύο  
πύργοι, ἔτι σῆζ', Π(ερ)ι(τίου?) ..

**Date:** 267 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 372 – 21 March AD 373.

*Comments:* If the restoration of the last word of the inscription is Π(ερ)ι(τίου) – which is quite improbable – the date would be: Peritios 267 E.P.A. = 16 January – 14 February AD 373.

136. *ABU ZUREK* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 148, no. 1136.

Εὐτυχῶς·  
Οὐαδδὸς  
καὶ Ἀσμαθος, υἱ-  
οὶ Σαβίνου, οἰκο-  
5 δομήσαμεν  
τὸ μνημῖον,  
ἐν ἔτ(ει) (in the left dovetail)  
σῆζ'. (in the right dovetail)

**Date:** 268 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 373 – 21 March AD 374.

137. *EL-KERAK* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 30, no. 1.

-----  
ἔτη εἴκοσι,  
ἐν ἔτι  
σο'.

**Date:** 270 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 375 – 21 March AD 376.

138. *SALCHAD* lintel  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 476, no. 2002; *PAES* IIIA2, p. 98, no. 167.

Τόδε τὸ μνημῖον ἐκ  
<γ>αίας ἀνέγειρεν Ζ-  
η/νόδω/ρος (in the right dovetail)  
κὲ Μαξίμα γυνή  
αὐτοῦ.



Ἐτι σοβ'. (below the left dovetail)

Βόηθ/ος (in the left dovetail)

Τοβέου. (below the right dovetail)

**Date:** 272 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 377 – 21 March AD 378.

139. *EL-GHÂRIYE* lintel

Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 112-13, no. 197.

Ἐπὶ προνοίας Γεν/νά- (above the right dovetail)

δισ καὶ Σέος καὶ Ῥοέ/ος (above the right dovetail)

καὶ Ἴνου καὶ Αὔθου συν-  
εδδραμέν(ων).

- 5 Ῥομανός καὶ Αὔθου καὶ  
Βοή/θου, (below the right dovetail)  
οικοδόμοι,  
σεο'. (in the right dovetail)

**Date:** 275 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 380 – 21 March AD 381.

140. *SALCHAD* lintel

Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 93, no. 158.

Κτίσμα αἰώνιον

ἡνέκτισεν Σόλ-

εος Ζηνοδώρου·

οὕτω ὁ ἄξιος τελέ-

- 5 σωσιν. Οἰκοδομήθη-  
ν ἐν ἔτι σοξ'. (below the right dovetail)

**Date:** 275 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 380 – 21 March AD 381.

141. *BURÁK* block

Bibl. *PA* III, p. 341.

Ἰάρος Ε[ὐ]-

μή<λ>ου, οἰκοδό-

μος, [ἔ]κ[τισεν].

Ἐτ(ους) σπ'.

**Date:** 280 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 385 – 21 March AD 386.

142. *NAHITE* block (?)

Bibl. Waddington, p. 550, no. 24121.

Μασαλέμου Ῥάβ-

βου κτίσμα, ἐξ ἱ-

δίων κόπων γ-  
εωργικῶν, ἐν ἔ-  
τι σπ'. (in the right dovetail)

**Date:** 280 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 385 – 21 March AD 386.

143. *SMĀD* altar (?)  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 61, no. 62.

Εὐτύ-  
χη σύ.  
Ἐπὶ Ἑδο-  
υ <Σ> εουή-  
5 ρου καὶ Ἀ-  
ζίζου  
Ἀνήλου,  
ἔτι σπ'.

**Date:** 280 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 385 – 21 March AD 386.

144. *BUSĀN* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 344-45, no. 740.

[Ἑ]τους σπα'.

**Date:** 281 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 386 – 21 March AD 387.

145. *BUSĀN* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 341-42, no. 734.

Ἐξ ἐπιμελίας καὶ σπουδῆς  
Μογεαῖρου Μάρκου καὶ ἙΑ-  
του Ναζά <λ> ου ἐκτίσθη  
τὰ ἐργαστήρια, ἐν ἔτι σπ[α]'.

**Date:** 281 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 386 – 21 March AD 387.

*Comments:* In the time of the editors prior to Littmann (Graham, Wetzstein, Waddington) the units figure A was still visible. Thus, Littmann's restoration is secure.

146. ἙΑWWAS fragment of lintel  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 482, no. 2046; *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 319-20, no. 693.

Ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς  
Οὐάλεντος Ἀζίζου καὶ Σοβέου Ἀουῖ-  
του καὶ Μάγνου Ἀβγάρου καὶ Μάνου Θιέμου,  
πιστῶν, ἐκτίσθη τὸ Θεονδρίτιον, ἔτ(ει) σπβ'

**Date:** 282 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 387 – 21 March AD 388.

*Comments:* The editors of *PAES* (p. 320) assume that the units figure of the year numeral “was damaged soon after its execution” and “that the letter B outside the frame was carved for the purpose of replacing the damaged letter”. In *PAES* all the previous readings of the last letter of the date are also discussed.

147. *BELA'MA* stele  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 14, no. 83.

[Θάρσι -- ], οὐ < δις > ἀ[θ]-  
άνατος,  
ἐτ(ῶν) κε'.  
Ἐτ(ους) σπβ'.

**Date:** 282 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 387 – 21 March AD 388.

*Comments:* The ancient settlement in the site of Bela'ma was located on the border line between the territory of Gerasa and that of provincia Arabia. Consequently, due to the descending order of the year numeral, it is more reasonable to convert the date according to the era of provincia Arabia than according to the Pompeian era, as is done in *SEG*.

148. *GHOR ES-SAFI (now in Jerusalem)* tablet  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 51, no. 335.

Ϡ + Ϡ  
Μνημῖον Θεοαύει  
Ἀλφίου, ἀποθανοῦ-  
σα ἐτῶν ιη', ἐν ἣτι σπβ',  
μενὸς Ὑπερβερε-  
5 τέου δεκάτην, ἡμέρα  
σελήνης. Θάρσι, οὐδὶς  
ἀθάνατος.  
Ϡ + Ϡ

**Date:** 10 Hyperberetaios 282 E.P.A. = 27 September AD 387.

*Comments:* It is not clear whether the ordinal numeral “δεκάτην” between the Macedonian month and the phrase “ἡμέρα σελήνης” refers to the month day or specifies the equivalent lunar day. In case that the numeral accompanies Hyperbertetaios, then the phrase “ἡμέρα σελήνης” could be the Greek equivalent of “dies lunae” of the Romans.

149. *DĪBĪN* block (?)  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 152, no. 1168.

Αὐξίτω Δήβιε.  
Ἐπὶ προτεί < α > (ς) Σεέου Σά-  
νου καὶ Μαξίμου Ἐνίου καὶ Αὔ-

θου Μάτρου, πιστῶν, ἐν [ἔτει]  
5 σπγ'. Κὲ Ῥογάτου.

Date: 283 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 388 – 21 March AD 389.

150. *GHOR ES-SAFI* (now in Jerusalem) tombstone  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 51, no. 334.

Μνημῖον Αἰνί-  
ου Ἰουδέου (?),  
παυσάμενος  
ἐτῶν π', ἐν ἔτι  
5 σπγ', μηνὸς  
Αὐδονέου δ'.  
Θάρσι, οὐδὶς  
ἀθάνατος.

Date: 4 Audynaios 283 E.P.A. = 20 December AD 388.

151. *EL-KUREYE* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 470, no. 1965; *PA* III, p. 342.

+ Ῥιφάθης Σάλμου (καὶ) Σέο[υ]  
συμβίου Ἄννα ΕΚΕΔ κ-  
τίσα τὸ μεμούριν ἐς λόγον [μ]-  
ου (καὶ) τέκνον, ἔτους σπδ', χρ(όνων) γ' i-  
5 νδ(ικτιώνος). + Σαλάμαω(ς) (καὶ) Θεάνδ[ριος, οἰκοδόμοι].

Date: 284 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 1 September AD 389 – 21 March AD 390.

152. *SALCHAD* fragment of a block  
Bibl. F. Bleckmann, *ZDPV* 38 (1915), pp. 223-24, no. 2.

[.....] οὐετρανὸς λεγ(εῶνος) γ' Κυρ(ηναϊκῆς), τὸ μνημ-  
[ιον ἐνθάδε ἐξετέλεσεν], ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀναλώσας δ-  
[ηνάρια .....] σχεῖλια, κελεύσας μηδέ-  
[να ἄλλον τεθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ μόνον τὸν ἀδελ-  
5 [φὸν .....], μ(ηνὸς) Δίου (?), ἔτους σπε'.

Date: Dios 285 E.P.A. = 18 October – 16 November AD 390.

153. *EL-KUFR* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 309-10, no. 670.

Ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Βόνου, τοῦ λαμ-  
πρ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος) καὶ δουκός, ἡ  
ἐκκλησία ἐκτίσθη, ἐ-  
τι σπζ'.

Date: 287 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 392 – 21 March AD 393.

154. *SALCHAD* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 476, no. 2004.

[.... ἔκτισαν σὺν τοῖς]  
τέκνοις, ἐξ ἰδίων καμάτων[ν]  
πολλὰ ἀναλόσαντες, ἔτους σπζ´.

**Date:** 287 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 392 – 21 March AD 393.

155. *SŪR* lintel  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 643, no. 8; *PA* III, p. 342.

[..... ἐκ τῶν ἰδί]-  
ων τὸ μνημα ἔκτισα,  
ἐν ἔτι σπζ´ τῆς ἐπαρ-  
χίας.

**Date:** 287 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 392 – 21 March AD 393.

156. *EL-GHĀRIYE* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, pp. 673-74, no. 92; *PA* III, p. 342.

Ἐπὶ π{ι}ρονοί{σ}-  
ας Αὐθου Σα-  
λέμου κὲ Ἐ-  
μράνου Βάσ-  
5 σου ἐτηλιό-  
θη{ς}, ἐν ἔ<τ>ι σζ´  
τῆς ἡπαρ(χίας).

**Date:** 290 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 395 – 21 March AD 396.

157. *WAKM* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, p. 394, no. 788<sup>1</sup>.

<Ξ> ἀν<θ>ος καὶ Χοσέ<β>ις καὶ Κάσσις  
καὶ {καὶ} Θαρεῦδης καὶ Δάμος καὶ  
Σαϊάθη καὶ Μέγαρος, πιστ(οί), οἰκο[δο]-  
μόσιν, ἡτους σ[ι].|α´ ἡπαρχίας.

**Date:** 2[1]1 to 2[9]1 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 316 – 21 March AD 397.

*Comments:* The tens figure in the year numeral is not preserved. Therefore the year may be restored as σια´ (211) up to σζα´ (291).

158. *HARRÂN* lintel  
Bibl. Ewing, p. 148, no. 85; *PA* III, p. 343.

Ἀντὶ πολλῆς εὐχαριστίας  
κὲ μνήμης, προνοία Μαξίμου Ὁγέζου  
καὶ Μαλιχάθου κὲ Ἀμέρου κὲ Πρίσκου,  
διοικητῶν, ἐτελέσθη τὸ δη <μ> όσιον  
5 πανδοχίον, ἔτους σλβ' τῆς Βοσ[τη]ρη-  
νῶν, / ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) / ι'. (in the left dovetail).

**Date:** 292 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 397.

159. *EL-MĀLIKĪYE* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 511, no. 2197; *PA* III, p. 343.

Εὐτυχός. Ἐτ-  
ους σλβ',  
κ(αι) Κώερος Σαδ-  
αίο(υ) ΑΛ. +

**Date:** 292 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 397 – 21 March AD 398.

160. *HARRÂN* lintel  
Bibl. Waddington, pp. 562-63, no. 2463; Ewing, p. 147, no. 84.

Ἀντὶ εὐχαριστίας καὶ μνήμης,  
προνο(ία) Γορέπου Αὔμου κὲ Ὁδ...  
Ἀννήλου καὶ Ἀμέρου Οὐλπιανοῦ  
καὶ Ἀνάμου Μαρκιανοῦ, διοικη-  
5 τῶν, ἐτελέσθη τὸ κοινὸν παν-  
δοχίον, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια', ἔτους σλβ' τῆς ἐπαρχί(ου).

**Date:** 292 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 1 September AD 397 – 21 March AD 398.

161. *EL-KERAK* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 31, no. 2.

[Ἐνθάδε]  
κεῖται Θαιμ-  
ος, ζήσ[α]ς ἔτ[η]  
[... τοῦ ἔ]τ(ους) σλγ'.

**Date:** 293 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 398 – 21 March AD 399.

162. *ʿORMĀN* stele  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 153, no. 1177.

Φοσ-  
ἐη Σι-  
έου,  
ἐτ(ῶν)  
5 κδ',  
σζγ'.

**Date:** 293 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 398 – 21 March AD 399.

## 5th century AD

163. *BUSĀN* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 519, no. 2245; *PA* III, p. 343.

[Τὸ μνημεῖον ἐκ τῶν ιδ]-  
ίων ἀνενέωσαν Οὐαβὼ μέρος τρίτον  
δωδέκατον κὲ Σαβαὼ Νακνακίω  
τρίτον δωδέκατον κὲ Σαβαὼ ἕκτον.  
ςζσ'. (in the left margin)

**Date:** 296 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 401 – 21 March AD 402.

164. *DJEMERRĪN* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 273, no. 604.

Αὐρηλία, μετὰ  
ἀνάπανσιν  
Δομιτιανοῦ  
συμβίου, ἔκτισεν,  
5 .. σζς'.

**Date:** 296 (?) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 401 – 21 March AD 402.

*Comments:* Littmann read the half-preserved last letter of the year numeral as E. This is not correct since every other E in the text is square in contrast to this one which seems rather round, probably an ζ'.

165. *ʿORMĀN* block  
Bibl. Ewing, p. 280, no. 161; *PA* III, p. 343.

Ἐτ(ους) σζς'.  
Δρακόν-  
τις Θεμ-

άλλου τόδε  
 5 σῆμα τοῖς ἔτεν-  
 ξεν. (below the right dovetail)

**Date:** 296 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 401 – 21 March AD 402.

166. *JERUSALEM (Ecole Biblique)* tombstone  
 Bibl. Unpublished.

Μνημῖαν  
 Οὐρεουσίλα, ἀπ[ο]-  
 θανόντος ἐτῶν  
 ἑξ[ο]ήκοντα πέντε,  
 5 ἔτους {ς} σζς', μη-  
 νὸς Ἀπελλέου ζ'.  
 Θάρσι, οὐδὶς ἀθ[άνατος].

**Date:** 7 Apellaios 296 E.P.A. = 23 November AD 401.

167. *EL-GHÂRIYE* block  
 Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 674, no. 93; *PA* III, p. 343.

Εἰς Θεὸς  
 ὃς ὁ βωθ-  
 ῶν τὴν κ-  
 όμην, ἐπὶ  
 5 προνοίαν  
 Ἀνάμου κ(αι)  
 Ἀβδισάρ(ου),  
 πισ/τῶν, /έτε(λειώθη) (in the right dovetail)  
 ἐν/ ἔτ(ει) (above the left dovetail)  
 σ/ζς'. (in the left dovetail)

**Date:** 297 (?) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 402 – 21 March AD 403.

168. *SALCHAD* lintel  
 Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 94-95, no. 159.

Αὐξί (above the left dovetail) τω. (above the right dovetail)  
 Ἦ <σ> ὃ λήγων ὥς  
 κῆ σὺ ἤμην·  
 ὥς κα(ι) μοῦ, ἦσ(η).  
 Ῥάββος ὑκοδ-  
 ὀμος (below the left dovetail)  
 5 ἀπὸ Βορέχθα  
 <Σ> αβῶν. (below the right dovetail)  
 Αὔδη/ κὲ Ἀβι/βάθη. (in the left dovetail)  
 Ἔτι/σζη'. (in the right dovetail)

**Date:** 298 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 403 – 21 March AD 404.



169. *RADEIME* (probably from *Sa'ad*) block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 139, no. 1060.

Οἶκος ὧδε φθιμένων,  
ὄν ἐδίματο Μέλη, σύμ/βιο(ς) (in the right dovetail)  
Θαουῖπου. Ἐνθα τη/ν ιε(ρὰν) (in the right dovetail)  
κεφαλὴν ἔθετο Σάβαος, ὁ/ κ(αὶ) Κ/ά- (in and below the right dovetail)  
5 των. Ἐτο <υ>ς σζθ' ἐπαρχ[ίας].

**Date:** 299 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 404 – 21 March AD 405.

170. Suppressed.

171. *RAHAM* block  
Bibl. M. Dunand in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, vol. 2 (*BAH* 30, Paris 1939), p. 571, no. 291.

Ῥοαιλάθη Σαούσου,  
φιλότεκνος, ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίων ὠκοδόμη-  
ησεν ἑαυτῇ καὶ  
5 τρισὶ υἱοῖς, Ἀντίω-  
χος ἐτ Κανήρικος ἐτ [Γ]-  
οδαίν[ιος, ἐν ἔτ(ει)] τβ'.

**Date:** 302 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 407 – 21 March AD 408.

172. *QASR EL-BĀ'IK* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 42, no. 21.

Ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Πελαγ(ίου) Ἀντιπάτρου,  
δουκός, ἐκτίσθη καὶ ἐ-  
χρημάτισεν ὁ κάστελλ-  
ος, ἔτι τς', Δαάσου ηκ'.

**Date:** 28 Daisios 306 E.P.A. = 17 June AD 411.

173. *UMM EL-JIMĀL* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA3, pp. 136-37, no. 237.

Ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Πελαγίου  
Ἀντιπάτρου, τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου)  
κόμ(ητος) καὶ δουκός, ἐκτί-  
σθη ὁ κάστελλος,  
5 σπουδῇ Βάσσου  
πριμικ[ηρ(ίου) .....] ΜΙΑΣ,  
ἔτο[υς τς' (or τη'), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι|α'.

**Date:** 307 (or 308) E.P.A., 11th ind. = 1 September AD 412 – 31 August AD 413.

*Comments:* Based on the dated inscription from Qasr el-Bâ'ik (no. 172) mentioning the same Flavius Pelagius Antipater, Littmann attempted an approximate restoration of the missing year numeral in line 7 as τζ' or τη'. He further completed the dating formula by the indiction year ια' which began in September 412, that is a year after the foundation of the fortress at Qasr el-Bâ'ik.

174. *DJEMERRÎN* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 273, no. 603.

Ἐ<ν> θάδε τάφον Ε | ----- |  
ἐκ καμάτων στρατιῆς | ----- |  
Ἐν ἔτι τθ' | ----- |.

**Date:** 309 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 414 – 21 March AD 415.

175. *MEDJEL ESH-SHÔR* fragment of a tablet  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 480, no. 2030; *PA* III, p. 344.

Ἐν  
ἔτ(ει)  
τθ'.

**Date:** 309 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 414 – 21 March AD 415.

176. *RAHAM* block  
Bibl. M. Dunand in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, vol. 2 (*BAH* 30, Paris 1939), p. 570, no. 288.

Διὰ [τ]ῆς σπουδῆς  
Παύλου τοῦ πρεσβ-  
υτέρου ἐκτ-  
ίσθη ὁ οἶκος.  
Ἐ(τει) τθ'. ΑΩ (in the right margin)

**Date:** 309 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 414 – 21 March AD 415.

177. ἸΑΝΖ stele  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 109, no. 188.

Σίηος Σ-  
αφέρου,  
ἔτι τι'.

**Date:** 310 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 415 – 21 March AD 416.

178. *SĪK EN-NAMALA* rock inscription?  
Bibl. A. Musil, *Anz Wien* 44 (1907), p. 140; *PA* III, p. 344.

Τὰ πάντα Νίρου ἐπιτρόπου  
σπουδῇ,  
ἔτους τι'.

**Date:** 310 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 415 – 21 March AD 416.

*Comments:* Brünnow and Domaszewski rightly pointed out that this year numeral could not be converted according to the Seleucid era, as Musil (see above) had already suggested.

179. *LUBBĒN* beam  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, p. 408, no. 793<sup>3</sup>.

Ἐτους τιβ'.

**Date:** 312 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 417 – 21 March AD 418.

180. *HARĪSE* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 478, no. 2022a; *PA* III, p. 344.

Ἐπὶ π[ρ]ινοίᾳ Σέου Οὐάλου κ-  
αὶ Σ[άλ]μου Λήβου καὶ [Μ]αλί[χ]-  
ου καὶ Γαδούου, πιστῶν,  
καὶ Γαδούου Τ[εμέ]ρου, οἰκ(οδόμου),  
5 ἐτελι[ώθ]η, ἔτι τιδ'.

**Date:** 314 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 419 – 21 March AD 420.

181. *SALCHAD* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 95-96, no. 160.

[Μνήμα τόδ'] ἐξετέλεσαν ἀγάκλυτον ὄρχαμ/οι (above the right dovetail)  
[ζώντων μέ]ν μέγα καῦχος, οἰχομένων δὲ ἀνά/παυμα (in the right  
dovetail)

[βουλῇ ἄρισ]τος καὶ εὐνομος Μῦλχος ἀνὴρ  
[υἱὸς ....] ΟΔΙΟΥ, κασίγνητοί τε σὺν αὐτῷ  
5 [φίλοι σύμ]παντες δὲ ἐξ Αὐδήλου γεγάασιν.  
Ἐτι τιδ'. (in the right dovetail).

**Date:** 314 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 419 – 21 March AD 420.

182. *SA'NE* block (?)  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Voyage*, p. 157, no. 23; *PA* III, p. 344.

Καδέμου καὶ  
Χαίρου, ἐξαδέλ-

φω, τὸ ἔργων, ἔτο[υς]  
τιθ'.

Date: 319 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 424 – 21 March AD 425.

183. *KHIRBET 'AWÂD* block (?)  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 159, no. 1229.

Ἐπὶ Μό-  
λχου  
καὶ Ὁ-  
θέμο-  
5 υ, πισ(τῶν),  
ἐ<κ>οι[δ](ομήθη),  
ἔτου[ς]  
τκα .  
...

Date: 321 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 426 – 21 March AD 427.

184. *KHIRBET 'AWÂD* slab  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 159, no. 1228.

Σολμόνης  
Ὀνέου κὲ Ἰσ-  
έος, οἰκοδό-  
μος, ἔτους  
5 τκε'.

Date: 325 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 430 – 21 March AD 431.

185. *MEDJEL ESH-SHÔR* two voussoirs  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 99-100, no. 169.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ πρ[ι]-  
μηκηράτου  
Εὐδαίμο-  
νος ἀνενε-  
5 ώθη ὁ τρίκλ-  
ινος, ἔτου-  
ς τκε'.

Date: 325 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 430 – 21 March AD 431.

186. *DÂMET EL-'ALYA* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 433-34, no. 800.

Σάδδος Δανουβίου  
καὶ Ἄμερος Ἐκότου, [περ]-

- ἀ<ν>αντες τὸν βίον καλῶ[ς καὶ]  
 ἐν ἐπιεικίᾳ καὶ εὐδοκίᾳ  
 5 ἐκ τῶν ἰδ(ι)ων ἔκτισ[αν],  
 μνήματος χάρι[ν],  
 ἔτο(υς) τκζ´.

**Date:** 327 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 432 – 21 March AD 433.

187. *DÂMET EL-ʿALYA* block  
 Bibl. Ewing, p. 143, no. 78; *PA* III, p. 345.

ΖΜΤ....  
 ΧΙΝΙΟΥ ΠΙΠΕ ...  
 ΗΤΗΚΕΝ.С  
 ἐνθῇ [κ]ατε[τέ]θη  
 5 καλῶς ἐν [ἐπιεικίᾳ καὶ ε]-  
 ὑδοκίμῳ[α .....]  
 ἐκ τῶ[ν ἰδ]ῶν ἔκτισεν ...]  
 .... ΡΟΙ ....  
 Ἐτ(ους) [τ]κζ´. (left dovetail)

**Date:** 327 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 432 – 21 March AD 433.

*Comments:* The hundreds unit of the year numeral is restored on the basis of inscr. no. 186 coming also from Dâmet el-ʿAlyā and using partially similar phrasing.

188. *SÂLA* fragment of a stele  
 Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 147, no. 1126.

Ἐν ἔτι  
 τκῇ´, ἐπὶ  
 Σαλα[μ]ά-  
 νου -- ].

**Date:** 328 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 433 – 21 March AD 434.

189. *EL-MOTE* fragment of a stele  
 Bibl. Canova, p. 287, no. 301.

-----  
 [.. τελευ]τήσ-  
 ας ἐν ἔτι τλβ´,  
 μ(ηνὸς) Γορπιέου  
 ιζ´.

**Date:** 17 Gorpiaios 332 E.P.A. = 4 September AD 437.

- 190.
- RAHAM*
- block

Bibl. M. Dunand in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, vol. 2 (*BAH* 30, Paris 1939), p. 571, no. 289.

Κόπων τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς (μ)-  
νῆμης Ἰουλίου τοῦ πρεσ < β > (υτέρου)  
καὶ προνοίας καὶ προσφ(ο)ρᾶς  
ἐκ(τι)σθ(η) ἐκ θεμελίων, ἀνενεώθη  
5 καὶ Φιλίππου δι(α)κ(όνου), ἐν ἔτι τλγ'. +

Date: 333 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 438 – 21 March AD 439.

- 191.
- BOSTRA*

See C.C. no. 44.

- 192.
- BURÂK*
- tablet

Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 102, no. 174.

[...]ΟϚ το-  
[ῦτο ἐ]πὶ πρ-  
[ωτεῖ]ας Ἰα-  
[μ]μ[λ]ί[χου κ-  
5 [αἰ] Ἀ[λά]φου  
κα[ὶ Βηλ]ακ-  
[άβ]ου πιστῶ-  
[ν...]ν ΕΤΟΙ  
. ΓCΑ ., ἔτο-  
10 υς τμ[.].

Date: 34[0] – 34[9] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 445 – 21 March AD 455.

*Comments* : It is not certain whether the year numeral was limited only to τμ' or a units figure occupied the place of the obliterated letter in the last line. If the former assumption is true, then the date would be: 340 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 445 – 21 March AD 446. However, if the latter one is the case, then the year numeral should range between τμα' and τμθ' which is: 341 – 349 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 446 – 21 March AD 455.

- 193.
- PETRA*
- painted inscription on urn

Bibl. R.E. Brünnow, *MNDPV* 5 (1899), p. 40, no. 1; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 6 (1905), p. 336; *PA* III, p. 345.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου  
Ἰάσωνος ἐπισκό-  
που, Θε(ο)ῦ χάριτι ἡγι-  
άσθη ὁ τόπος, τῇ  
5 ε' Λφου, τοῦ (ἔτους) τμα',  
παρόντος νουμέ-  
ρου τῶν γενναιω-

- τάτων Τ[ερ]τι <ο>δ<α>λμ<ά>-  
των καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ δι-  
10 ακόνου Ἀ(π)α(μ)ίας,  
Χρ(ιστοῦ) σώζοντο[ς...].

Date: 5 Loos 341 E.P.A. = 24 July AD 446.

194. *PETRA* (now in Amman Museum) slab in two pieces  
Bibl. Unpublished. Israel Antiquities Authority Files.

- + Παῖς ἐνθάδε κείμε Διονύσιος Ἰάσονος,  
τοῦ ποτ' ἱερεῦσαντος Θεοῦ, λόγῳ Θεῷ ἐόντι  
Χριστῷ πανβασιλῆι, ὁμουσίῳ Τριάδι σεπτῇ,  
κεῖνος ἐνθάδε κεῖται παρ(ὰ) τράπεζαν ἀγιοφόρον,  
5 + ἐγὼ δὴ δ' ἔτος εἰκοστὸν ὄγδοον ἡνιοχήσας, +  
Χριστοῦ διάκονος μεγάλου τε γεῶς Ἱεροσολύμων,  
πέπαυμε μόχθου βίου, ἀδικηθεῖς οὐκ ἀδικήσας,  
[ἀ]λλ' ἐγὼ αὐθις ἀναστήσομαι Χριστοῦ παρόντος  
.. παε ὕμνους δοξολογίας ἀναπέμπων. + Ἐκοιμήθη +  
10 τῇ ... Δύστρου, τμα'.

Date: Dystros 341 E.P.A. = 15 February – 16 March AD 447.

195. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 31-32, no. 3.

- Εὐσεβίης τόδ[ε]  
σῆμα καὶ ἔχει|  
φρενὸς ἡθεί <ην> ,  
ζήσασα ἔτη  
5 ιβ', τοῦ τμη'.

Date: 344 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 449 – 21 March AD 450.

196. *ELUSA* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 31 (1981), p. 367, no. 1401.

- Ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Δημάρχου, τοῦ με-  
γαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ εὐδο-  
κιμωτάτου ἄρχοντος, ἐγέ-  
νετο ἡ πρὸ τοῦ θεάτρου  
5 πλάκωσις ἕως τῆς προτέ-  
ρας πλακός, ἐπιμελ(εία) Ἀβρα-  
αμίου Ζηνοβίου πολιτ(ευομένου),  
ἐν ἔτι τμη'.

Date: 349 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 454 – 21 March AD 455.

197. *FENAN* tablet  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 53, no. 342.

+ Ἐνταῦθα κατ(ετέθη) Στέ-  
φανος Σαγώνου, ζήσας  
ἐτη ιγ´. Ἀνεπάη ἐν [Κ(υρί)ῳ],  
ἐν ἔτι ντ´, [μη(νὸς)] Δεσίου κβ´, ἐ[ν]  
5 τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τοῦ (?) – – ΤΙΟΥΝ (?)  
ο [i] ἄνθρωποι. Καὶ ἀπέθανεν  
τὸ τρίτον τοῦ κόσμου].

**Date:** 22 Daisios 350 E.P.A. = 11 June AD 455.

198. *DEIR DJUH* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 669, no. 82; *PA* III, p. 346.

Ἔτους τγγ´. (above tabula ansata)  
Ἐπὶ πρ + ο-  
[.....] ο[i]-  
κρδομή-  
5 θη ἐκκλησία  
Σάββας [Φί]λιπος. (under tabula ansata)

**Date:** 353 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 458 – 21 March AD 459.

199. *SÛR* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, p. 426, no. 797<sup>3</sup>.

+ Ἅγιος Λιοντ[ίου]  
βοήθ(ι) ἡμῶν κώμ(η).  
+ Χάβος Εὐτολμίου  
γράφ(ει), ἐπὶ τῆς ιβ´ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος),  
5 ἔτους τγγ´ τῆς ἐπαρ(χίας),  
+ χιρι Ἑλίας Βαραχέ[ν].

**Date:** 353 E.P.A., 12th ind. = 1 September AD 458 – 21 March AD 459.

*Comments:* The editors of *PAES* noticed that “the date was read by Messrs. Wright and Souter as υν[θ]”, but the third letteer according to Ewing’s copy and theirs was clearly a Γ, so they suggested the date τγγ´ which corresponds to the twelfth indication.

200. *ʾAZRA* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 265, no. 276.

Σύμ + βουλ-  
ος Προπίδη-  
ο, κεκ < α > σμέν-



ος, ἐνθάδε κεῖ-  
 5 τι, εἰς ἐτέων δε-  
 κάδας δύο δ' ἐ-  
 πὶ τοῖσι βιώσ-  
 ας, τοῦ ἔτους  
 τνε'. +

Date: 355 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 460 – 21 March AD 461.

201. *AUJA HAFIR* (Nessana) voussoir  
 Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 149-50, no. 35.

+ Κατετήθη ὁ μακά-  
 ριος Θώαμος ὁ πρεσβ(ύτερος),  
 ἐν τούτου τοῦ ἀγίου μαρ-  
 τυρίου, Δίου εἰκάδι τοῦ μην-  
 5 ὄς, τοῦ ἔτους τριακοσιοστοῦ πεν-  
 τηκοστοῦ θ', τοῦ δὲ Χ(ριστοῦ) βασιλί(α), τι-  
 μὴ καὶ τὸ κράτος τοὺς ἀξίους ἡ-  
 αυτοῦ.

Date: 20 Dios 359 E.P.A. = 6 November AD 464.

202. *SURRAMAN* block (?)  
 Bibl. G. Dalman, *ZDPV* 37 (1914), p. 139, no. 8.

Μνήμης ἔνεκα, τὸ μεμό-  
 ριον ζῶν ἀνέθετο Σώ-  
 πατρος, προτήκτωρ, Κυρί-  
 λλω πατρὶ ἀπὸ τριβούνων,  
 5 ἔτι τξ'.

Date: 360 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 465 – 21 March AD 466.

203. *MELAH EŞ-ŞARRÂR* block  
 Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 329-30, no. 713.

Ἔτους τξά'.  
 Γάδουος Μα-  
 λέχου ἔκτισε τὸ  
 μνημῖο|ν|, διανοία  
 5 Σοέμ|ου .....|.

Date: 361 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 466 – 21 March AD 467.

204. *MELAH EŞ-ŞARRÂR* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 330-31, no. 714.

Φλ(αούιος) Γόρπος Γόρ(που)  
καὶ Σέος Ἀζιζος.  
Ἦτους τξα΄. Γάδουο(ς)  
ἐκο(δόμος), κώμ(ης) Ἐγλ(ων?).

**Date:** 361 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 466 – 21 March AD 467.

*Comments:* According to *PAES* the year numeral is τξα΄ and not τς΄ as given by Waddington. This is further confirmed, as Littmann pointed out, by *PAES* IIIA5 inscr. no. 713 (our inscr. no. 203) on which the same date and the same person Γάδουος are mentioned.

205. *UMMER-RUMMÂN* fragment of an architrave  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 485, no. 2056; *PA* III, p. 346.

[Ἐκ προνοίας] Βαδαγίου καὶ Μοχέσου  
[ἐκτίσθη τὸ κοιν]οβούλιν, ἔτι τξζ΄.

**Date:** 367 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 472 – 21 March AD 473.

206. *ʿAMRA* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 494, no. 2087; *PA* III, p. 346.

Μνήσθητι Κ(ύ)ρ(ι)ε τὸν κτί-  
σαντα, ὃν τὸ ὄνομα  
γυνώσκεις. Ἐκτίσθη δὲ  
ἔτους τξη΄.

**Date:** 368 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 473 – 21 March AD 474.

207. *AUJA HAFIR* (*Nessana*) voussoir  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 150-51, no. 37.

+ Κατετέθη ὁ  
μακάριος Παλλάδης,  
ὁ διάκονος, ἐν τού-  
το τῷ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ,  
5 ἐν μενὶ Ἀπελλέου ιε΄,  
ια΄ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ  
ἔτ[ο]υς τριακο-  
σιοστοῦ ἐβ[δ]ομηκοστοῦ.  
τῷ δὲ Π(ατ)ρί καὶ Υἱῷ  
10 καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πν(εύμα)τι, ὃ ἡ δόξα  
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας  
τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. +

**Date:** 15 Apellaios 370 E.P.A. = 1 December AD 475.

208. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 288-89, no. 302.

-----  
.....IOIC EN.NEH  
... 'Αλεξάνδρο[υ] φθα[ν]-  
[τ]ὸς πατρός ἡμετέρο[υ],  
ὁδ' οὐνομ' 'Αντωνῖνο[ς],  
ζήσας ἔτη ιγ', ἐν το', Π[ερ](ιτίου),  
μητρὶ τ' ἐμῇ τε λιπὼ[ν]  
πολλὰ γέλου κὲ πέ[νθο]-  
[υς?] .....TA.

**Date:** Peritios (?) 370 E.P.A. = 16 January – 14 February AD 476.

209. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 32-34, no. 4.

+  
'Ενθάδε κεῖ-  
ται 'Εννάθη 'Α-  
φέλλου, ζήσ-  
ασα ἔτη ἐννέα,  
5 [τοῦ ἔτ]ο[υς] το[α].

**Date:** 37[1] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 476 – 21 March AD 477.

210. *NIMRE* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 509, no. 2185; *PA* III, p. 347.

Εὐλογ[ητὸς ὁ]  
Κύριος. "Αν[ε]ος "Αμ]-  
ερος, πρ(εσβύτερος), καὶ 'Υ....  
διάκ(ονος), τὸ μνη[μεῖον]  
5 ἔκτισαν εἰς [μνημ]-  
ώσωνων ['Αμέ]-  
ρου καὶ Βαδα[βαίλου],  
πρ(εσβυτέρων), ἐ[ν] ἔτ(ει) αοτ'.

**Date:** 371 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 476 – 21 March AD 477.

211. *'AINUN* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 234, no. 236.

-----  
C, ζήσας ἡ-  
τη ζ', +  
τοβ'.

**Date:** 372 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 477 – 21 March AD 478.

212. *BOSTRA* lintel  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 192-93, no. 9121.

[Ἡ](λ)ίας Καλοπ-  
οδιός με θε-  
μελία|θ|εν  
κτίζι. Ἐν ἔτ(ει) τοδ'.

Date: 374 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 479 – 21 March AD 480.

213. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 289, no. 303.

Ἐνθάδε  
κῆτε Νόνν-  
α Θεα <δ> ώρου,  
ἐν ἔτι τοε',  
5 μη(νός) Ξανθ(ικοῦ), ζή-  
σας ἔτη λε'.

Date: Xanthikos 375 E.P.A. = 22 March – 20 April AD 480.

214. *IMTÂN* block (?)  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 154, no. 1184.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχ(η). Ἡλίας Ἐπιδί-  
ου πύργον βέβαιον, ἐξ ιδίων  
καμάτων, μετὰ Μαρτυρί-  
ου ἀδελφοῦ (οἰκοδόμησεν). Ἀνελώθη χρ(υσοῦ)  
5 νομίματα) ξ', ἔτι τπ'.  
Ἰουλ/ιαν/ός (in the left dovetail)  
Μαρκ/ελ- (above the right dovetail)  
λίνο/ς, (in the right dovetail)  
οἶκο(δόμος). (under the left dovetail)

Date: 380 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 485 – 21 March AD 486.

215. *IMTÂN* block (?)  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 155, no. 1193.

Ἀγαθὲ τύχε. Ἦκτισον  
Ἀζίζος καὶ Γάδουος καὶ  
Μόχεσος, τέκνα Αὔσου,  
ἐκ τὸν ιδίων καμάτων  
5 ἀνέλωσον χρυσοῦ νομί-  
ματα τριουκάσια ΟΥ ANT  
ΕΤΩCTIZNH., ἐν ἡτους τπ'.

Date: 380 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 485 – 21 March AD 486.

216. *MEDJEL ESH-SHÔR* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, p. 100, no. 170.

-----  
καὶ Σαίφ Γαρέ[σου μέρ(η) --- ]  
μέρ(η) δ'. Ἐτι τῇ [-----]  
.... ἐπὶ τῆς πίστ(εως). (under the tabula ansata)

**Date:** 380 (?) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 485 – 21 March AD 486.

217. *MELAH EŞ-ŞARRÂR* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 662, no. 61; *PA* III, p. 347.

Μούχεσο <ς> Πρό-  
κλ(ο)υ κι Ἀξιζος κι  
Πρό(κ)λο <ς>, υἱοί, ἔ/κτεσ(αν) (right dovetail)  
(ἐ)ξ ιδί[ων], <ο> ι οἰκοδόμ-  
5 εἰ Ἀρούσεος κ[ι]  
[...] ΣΟΜΟ [..].  
Ἐἵτ(ους) τῇ. (above the left dovetail).

**Date:** 380 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 485 – 21 March AD 486.

218. *ZEIZUN* block (?)  
Bibl. Gildemeister, *ZDPV* 11 (1888), pp. 43-44; *PA* III, p. 347.

Ἐτου(ς) πτ', μη(νός) Ὑπερβερετέου ε',  
Δυξιζιζίου [ε]'. [Οἰ]κοδ[ο]μῇ Μιλίχου  
μανγαναρίου. Ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς Ἀντονίνου  
Ἀβουνέου κὲ Ἀνίνα.

No line division is indicated.

**Date:** 5 Hyperbretaios 380 E.P.A. = 22 September AD 485.

*Comments:* Gildemeister (*ZDPV* 11 [1888]) attempted to interpret the word Δυξιζιζίου after the date as an Arabic month of the same nature to those quoted by Epiphanius (li. 24).

219. *AINUN* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 235, no. 237.

Ἐν + θάδ(ε)  
κῑτ(αι) Σαμ-  
άσεος, ζή-  
σ(ας) ἔτ(η) λε',  
5 τοῦ ἔτ(ους)  
τῇ.

**Date:** 381 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 486 – 21 March AD 487.

220. *UMMER-RUMMÂN* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Voyage*, pp. 189-90, no. 66; *PA* III, p. 347.

Αἴος Βολέ-  
γου <έ> σκ[εύα]σ-  
εν τόδε μν-  
ῆ<μα> i <δ> ίοις ᾗ[ν](α)-  
5 λώμα <σ> ιν, ἐν ἔτ(ει)  
τπα'. (under the right dovetail)

**Date:** 381 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 486 – 21 March AD 487.

221. *UMMES-SURAB* lintel  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 688, no. 141; *PA* III, p. 347.

----- ΑÇΡΟÇΥ. ΙÇΑΑΗΤΟΝΟ  
----- Ε. ΤΟΥΛΑÇΙΟΥÇΕΠ  
----- ΥΘΟΥΤΟ . ΕΤ  
----- [έ]ν [έ]τι τπ[.], ιν(δικτιῶνος?)

**Date:** 38[1] – 38[9] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 486 – 21 March AD 495.

222. *BOSTRA* two columns  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 193-94, no. 9122.

- a. Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ  
Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ,  
ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Ἀρκαδίου  
Ἀλεξάνδρου, τοῦ  
5 λαμπροτάτου σχο(λαστικοῦ)  
καὶ ἡγεμόνος,  
b. ἐκτίσθη ἐκ  
θεμελίων τὸ  
τρίκονχον σῖγμα  
10 καὶ ἐπληρώθη,  
ἐν ἔτει τπγ',  
χρόν(ων) ἰνδικ(τιῶνος)  
ἐνδεκά-  
της.

**Date:** 383 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 488.

223. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* stele  
Bibl. Unpublished. Israel Antiquities Authority Files.

THC ---  
Ἔτους  
τπγ', μ(ηνὸς) Ἀπ(ελλαίου?).

**Date:** Apellaios (?) 383 E.P.A. = 17 November – 16 December AD 488.

224. *REHOVOT* slab  
Bibl. Y. Tsafir, *Qedem* 25 (1988), pp. 155-56, no. 2.

Ἐκνέθη ὁ [μα]-  
[κάρ]ιος Ἰέρμο [...],  
ἐμ μενὶ Ἀπελ[λαίω],  
τπγ'.

**Date:** Appellaios 383 E.P.A. = 17 November – 16 December AD 488.

225. *UMMES-SURAB* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 57-58, no. 51.

Κ(ύριε) φύλαξον). < Ἀ > μερᾶς καὶ Κῦρος, υἱοὶ Οὐλπια/νο(ῦ), (above  
the right dovetail)  
[ἐξετέλεσαν σὺ]ν Θεῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Σε/ρ- (in the right dovetail)  
γίου καὶ [τ]οῦ ἁγίου Βάκχου τόδε τ/ὸ (under the right dovetail)  
μνη[μεῖον], Γορπ(ιαίου) εκ', ἐν [ἐ]τι τπδ'.

**Date:** 25 Gorpaios 384 E.P.A. = 12 September AD 489.

226. *BOSTRA* two fragments of a block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 194-95, no. 9123.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμη(τος) Ἡσυχίου ἡγεμόνος κα[ὶ]  
σχο(λαστικοῦ) ἐκτίσθη ἀπὸ θεμελίων τὸ ἡγεμ[ο]νικὸν πραιτώ-  
[ριον], κόμητος Πάυλου λαμπρ(οτάτου) καὶ πολιτεῦ[ο]μ[ένου]  
ἐπιμελουμένου, ἐν ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) ιγ', ἔτους τε'.

**Date:** 385 E.P.A., 13th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 490.

227. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 344, no. 9417.

Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) γ(εννῇ). Τόδε τὸ μνήμα, λα-  
στομήσας, ἐκτίσεν ἀπὸ θε-  
μελίων, ἐπὶ τῆς ιε' ἰνδικ(τιῶνος),  
τοῦ ἔτους τπζ' ἐπ[α]-  
5 ρχ(ίας), Μαξέντιος Διογένο[υς].  
Δόξα τῷ αἰωνίῳ Χρ[ιστῷ].

**Date:** 387 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 492.

228. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 345-46, no. 9418.

+ Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) γ(εννῇ). Τόδε τὸ μνήμα ἐκτίσεν  
Μακέντιος Διογένο[υς]

τοῦ κα(ι) Κολαφίου, ἐπὶ [τ]ῆς  
 ιε' ἰνδικ(τιῶνος), < τοῦ ἔτους τπζ' > τῆς ἐπαρχίας.  
 5 Δόξα τῷ αἰωνίῳ Χριστῷ  
 τῷ συνχωροῦν(τι) (τ)ὰς ἀμαρ-  
 τίας.

**Date:** < 387 > E.P.A., 15th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 492.

*Comments:* The inscription can be securely dated on the basis of the previous one (no. 227). Since the year numeral has not been recorded beside the designation of the era (“τῆς ἐπαρχίας”), one should agree with Sartre that the engraver skipped it accidentally.

229. *EL-MUSHENNEF* block (?)  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 517, no. 2235; *PA* III, p. 348.

Πρόσδεξε, Κ(ύρι)ε, τὴν προσφο-  
 ρὰν τοῦ δούλου σου, Σέου πρω-  
 τ(οδιακόνου). Ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐκωδόμησεν,  
 ἔτ(ους) τπζ', ἐπὶ Διοκλήους ἐπισκ(όπου).  
 5 Γαδοῦος, Ζόσιμος, οἰκοδ(όμοι).

**Date:** 387 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 492 – 21 March AD 493.

230. *EL-MOTE* stele  
 Bibl. Canova, pp. 289-90, no. 304.

[Ἐνθ]άδε  
 κίται Κυρια-  
 κὸς Ὡρίωνος,  
 ζήσας ἔτη  
 5 ξ', ἐν ἔτι τπ-  
 ζ', μῆ(νὸς) Ἀρτεμη-  
 [...].

**Date:** Artemisios 387 E.P.A. = 21 April – 20 May AD 492.

231. *MELAH EŞ-ŞARRÂR* block  
 Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 660, no. 52; *PA* III, p. 348.

Ἐν ἔτι πτη',  
 Σαβίνος στρατ(ιώτης),  
 πόνον ἐ(ξ ἰδίων) ἐτέλ(εσεν),  
 ἐκ θε < μ > ελίων  
 οἴκ(ον). (out of the tabula ansata)

**Date:** 388 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 493 – 21 March AD 494.



232. *SALCHAD* lintel  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 475, no. 1995; *PAES* IIIA2, p. 96, no. 161.

Αὕτη ἡ πύλη  
τοῦ Κ(υρίου)υ· δίκαιοι  
εἰσελεύσονται  
ἐν αὐτῇ. Ἐν ἔτι  
5 τλβ' τῆς ἐπαρχί-  
ας, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε', ἐκτίσθη  
τὰ ὧδε, ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Ἀν(άμου?).

**Date:** 392 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 497.

233. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. R. Mouterde, *MUB* 34 (1957), p. 268; *SEG* 19 (1963), pp. 278-79, no. 895.

Ἑσθ + λὸς  
έών, ζῶς περικε-  
κασμένος ἐν πολι-  
ήταις, ἔπλετ' Ἀνασ-  
5 τάσιος πολυδάκρυ-  
τος, ἀρ' παῖσιν ο <υ> ρος·  
ἔξ δ' ἐτέων δεκά-  
δων, ἄ(νο) φέρων λά-  
χε σ(ι)ῆμ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ,  
10 ἔτ(ους) τ <λβ> ', εἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) <ε> ', μ(ηνὶ)  
Παν(ήμου) ιθ'.

**Date:** 19 Panemos 392 E.P.A., <5>th ind. = 8 July AD 497.

*Comments:* In the copy given by A. Roussos, on which R. Mouterde's publication of the inscription was based, after EIND in the tenth line there are the letters ΞΗ. Mouterde corrected them to E, so that the indiction year coincides with the rest of the dating formula. Confusion between illegible H and E is quite common in epigraphy due to the similarity in the letters' structure. Furthermore, the character Ξ could have been read instead of the sign S used to abbreviate the word "εἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)".

234. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 291, no. 306.

Μνημῖον  
Σαμμάσα  
Ἰωάννου, ἐ-  
ν ἔτι τλγ', μ(ηνὸς)  
5 Λφου κβ'.

**Date:** 22 Loos 393 E.P.A. = 10 August AD 498.

## 6th century AD

235. *BOSTRA* lintel in two pieces  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 195-96, no. 9124.

Ἰωάννης [Σεουήρ]ου, χαρτουλάρ(ιος),  
εὐχαρι < σ > τῶν τῷ Θεῷ μου, ἐκ θεμηλίων  
ἐκτι < σ > α, ἐν ἔτει ς[ζ]ς, χρόν(ων) δεκάτης ἰνδι[κτ(ιῶνος)].

**Date:** 396 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 1 September AD 501 – 21 March AD 502.

236. *SĀLA* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 335-36, no. 725.

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Γαδούου καὶ Καδάμου,  
υἱῶν Σαβίνου, οἰκοδόμησαν, ἔτους  
υ', καὶ Ὁτερὰθη καὶ Μεγαιθία (ἀ)δε[λ]φή, γυνηκὶ αὐ[τ]-  
ῶν.

**Date:** 400 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 505 – 21 March AD 506.

*Comments:* Waddington (no. 2256) read the year numeral as [τ]κα', while Brünnow (*PA* III, p. 344) suggested also the addition ι' [ἰνδικτι]ῶν(ος). For the refutation of these readings see comments on the inscr. 725 in *PAES* IIIA5, p. 336.

237. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 351-52, no. 350.

Ἐνθάδ-  
ε κεῖτε Κι-  
θάρης Βα-  
ρίχου, ζή-  
5 σας ἔτο-  
υς υ', ἐβδ-  
ώμ(η) ἡμήρ(α).

**Date:** 7th day of 400 E.P.A. = 28 March AD 505.

238. *SHIVTA* block (?)  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 65-66, no. 75.

+ Σὺν Θεῷ. Ἐγένε-  
τω τούτω τῷ ἔργον  
ἐπὶ τῶν λαμπρω-  
τάτων πριῶρων  
5 καὶ ἐπὶ Φλ(αου)ίου Ἰωάννου Στεφ(άνου),  
βικαρίου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ', μηνὶ Ὑπερβ(ερεταίου)  
ιγ', τοῦ ἔτους υ'. +

**Date:** 13 Hyperberetaios 400 E.P.A., <14> th ind. = 30 September AD 505.

*Comments:* The third indiction year does not correlate with the rest of the dating formula because 30 September AD 505 falls in the 14th indiction year. Negev pointed out that “we have no way to check whether this mistake was made by the engraver of the inscription, or by the reader from the stone, since the inscription has been preserved only by a copy in file”. For this incongruity see also inscr. no. 458 from Shivta and nos. 450 and 489 from Auja Hafir.

239. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 35-36, no. 7.

.... Κα[λλίνι]-  
κος Γελασίου  
[ἐ]νθάδε κεῖτ(αι),  
ζήσας ἔτη δ',  
5 υς', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'.

**Date:** 406 (?) E.P.A., 4th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 511.

*Comments:* The year numeral is quite puzzling. The two letters υς, capped by the horizontal stroke indicating numeral, are certainly part of it. A third figure S – extremely faint – stands immediately to their right. It is similar to the second letter of the numeral and to the abbreviation symbol used in abbreviating the word indiction (INΔS). In an ironic way both possible readings υς' (496) and υς' (406) correlate with the fourth indiction. Although Canova pointed out that the script would date the text rather to the beginning of the seventh century AD, she read υς' – obviously urged to do so by the other epigraphical data mentioned above.

240. *EL-KERAK (Kanata)* block (?)  
Bibl. *PA* III, pp. 349-50.

Ἐἷς Θεὸς ὁ βοεθέσας. Δοέ[βος]  
'Ράσσου τῶν Δοέβου γένος μ[...]  
ΑΡΙΑ εἰς τόδε τῷ ΚΤΩΑ ....  
ΟΗ ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀμπέλιν [ἐξ ἀ]-  
5 νατολὸν καὶ δ(υ)σμῶν τοῦ μ[έρ]-  
ου <ς> μου ἐγένοντο, μηνὶ Ἀπρ[ι]-  
λί(ῳ), χρόνον <δ'> ἰνδικ(τιῶνος), ἐν ἔτι υς'.

**Date:** 406 E.P.A., 4th ind., = 22 March – 31 August AD 511.

*Comments:* Although Dussaud and Macler (*Voyage*, p. 200, no. 84) read on the stone the indiction number A, they then transcribed it as Δ in the text. They further tried to combine the reading α' ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) with a new reading of the year formula “ἐν ἔτ(ει) ως”. In that case, even if we disregard the irregular order of the year numeral (tens-hundreds-units), we cannot overlook the fact that the year 416 of provincia Arabia does not fall in the first, but in the 14th-15th indiction years, as Brünnow pointed out.

241. *DUMER* lintel (?)

Bibl. R. Brünnow, *MNDPV* 5 (1899), p. 91, no. 68.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων, Σ[τατί]λ[ι]ος Ἀννιανός,  
στράτωρ ἐπάρχου  
εἰλης Οὐοκοντίων, Θελσηηνός, ἐπ[ε]σκεύασεν τὸ ἐπιστύλιον ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίων, κατ' εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνων.  
Ἐτ[ο]υ[ς] υς'.

**Date:** 406 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 511 – 21 March AD 512.

242. *EL-KERAK* stele

Bibl. Canova, pp. 36-37, no. 8.

+ Νόννα  
Σεργίου,  
νεοφώτι-  
στος, ζή-  
5 σασα ἡμ-  
έρ(ας) μ', ἔτ(ους) υς'.

**Date:** 406 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 511 – 21 March AD 512.

*Comments:* Canova thought that the second letter of the year numeral could also be read as ζ=90. This reading gives the year 490 of provincia Arabia, that is 22 March AD 595 – 21 March AD 596, a date which according to the same author suits better the palaeography of the inscription.

243. *EZRA'* lintel

Bibl. Waddington, p. 569, no. 2497; *PA* III, p. 350.

Οἱ ἀπὸ Ζορ(αούας) ἐξ ιδίων ναὸν Ἡλίου προφ(ήτου), σπουδῇ Ἰωάννου  
Μεννέου, διακ(όνου), ἐν ἔτι υς'  
ἔκτισαν, ἐπὶ Οὐάρου θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) ἐπισκόπου, ᾧ ἐπήγαγ(εν)  
ὁ Θ(εὸς) πότμον Βόνβωνος Μά[λ]ης (?).

**Date:** 407 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 512 – 21 March AD 513.

244. *BOSTRA* lintel

Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 196-98, no. 9125.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ ὀσιωτάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀρχι-  
επισκ(όπου), ᾠκοδομήθη καὶ ἐτελιώθη ὁ ἅγιος ναὸς Σεργίου,  
Βάχχου καὶ Λεοντίου, τῶν ἀθλοφόρων καὶ καλλι-  
νίκων μαρτύρων, ἐν ἔτι υς', ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) ς'.

**Date:** 407 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 1 September AD 512 – 21 March AD 513.



249. *EZRA'* lintel  
Bibl. *AAES* III, pp. 335-36, no. 437a.

Θεοῦ γέγονεν οἶκος τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καταγώγιον·  
φῶς σωτήριον ἔλαμψεν, ὅπου σκότος ἐκάλυπτεν·  
ὅπου θυσίαι εἰδώλων, νῦν χοροὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ  
ὅπου Θεὸς παρωργίζετο, νῦν Θεὸς ἐξευμενίζεται.

- 5 Ἀνὴρ τις φιλόχριστος, ὁ πρωτεύων Ἰωάννης, Διομήδεως υἱός,  
ἐξ ἰδίων δῶρον Θεῷ προσήνεγκεν ἀξιοθέατον κτίσμα,  
ἰδρύσας ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ καλλινίκου ἀγίου μάρτυρος Γεωργίου  
τὸ τίμιον λίψανον, τοῦ φανέντος αὐτῷ Ἰωάννη  
οὐ καθ' ὕπνον, ἀλλὰ φανερώς· ἐν ἔτι θ', ἔτους υἴ'.

**Date:** 410 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 1 September AD 515 – 21 March AD 516.

*Comments:* The phrase “ἐν ἔτι θ'” in the last line certainly refers to the indiction year in place of the expression “ἐν ἰνδικτιῶνι ...”.

250. *EL-KERAK'* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 38-39, no. 10.

Ἐτ(ους) υἴ', ἰν-  
δ(ικτιῶνος) θ', μ(ηνὸς) Δύστρ(ου) λ'.

Ἐνθάδε κεῖται  
Εὐδαίμων Μαρ-

- 5 κέλλου, ζήσας  
-----

**Date:** 30 Dystros 410 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 15 March AD 516.

*Comments:* Especially remarkable is the position of the date, which here forms the introductory phrase of the text in contrast to its usual place at the end of the inscription.

251. *MDJÉMIR* two fragments of a block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 527, no. 2299; *PA* III, p. 350.

ΘΕΟΤΕ ... [Χ(ριστὸν)] Μ(αρία) γ(εννῆ). Ἥλίας  
ΚΙ .... ΑCΙΟΥΜΟΝΙC  
Μάγ[η]ος οἰκοδόμος, Διονυσι-  
εὐ<ς>, . Α, ἔτους υἱά', θ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 411 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 516.

252. *EL-DJI* block  
Bibl. A. Musil, *Anz Wien* 44 (1907), pp. 139-40.

[.....<sup>ca.12</sup>.....τ]ῷ κ[αί] Ἀντιπάτρῳ  
[.....<sup>ca.8</sup>.....] ΟΥ βουλευτοῦ τῶν Π[ετρ]αίων  
ζήσαντι ἔτη λς', τελευτήσαντι δὲ

ἐτ[ου]ς υἱά IC. Εὐβουλος .. ΔΩΡΟ  
ΔΙΩ. ΥC [- ----].

Date: 411 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 516 – 21 March AD 517.

253. *BOSTRA* slab

Bibl. G. Fiaccadori in *XXXV Corso di Cultura sull' Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (Ravenna 1988), pp. 93-108.

Ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Δώρου, τοῦ  
μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμ(ι)τος  
καὶ ἄρχοντος, ἐ[π]-  
λακώθη ὅλος  
5 ὁ ἔμβολος, ἐν ἔτει  
υἱβ', χρ(όνων) δεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

Date: 412 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 517.

254. *RAHAM* block

Bibl. M. Dunand in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, vol. 2 (*BAH* 30, Paris 1939), p. 571, no. 290.

Κτίσθη τὸ ἅγιον μαρ-  
τύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Σερ-  
γίου τῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ,  
ἐν μηνὶ Γορπιαίῳ,  
5 χρόνων ια' ἰνδικ(τιῶνος),  
ἔτους υἱβ' τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας).

Date: Gorpiaios 412 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 1 – 17 September AD 517.

255. *BUSR EL-HARÎRÎ*

Bibl. Waddington, pp. 566-67, no. 2477; *PA* III, pp. 350-51.

+ Φλ(αούιος) Χρυσάφης ἔκτισεν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου,  
ἐξ ὑποβολῆς τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Ἡλίας, ἀδελφοῦ λογωθ(έτο)υ,  
Εὐαγγέλου δὲ πρεσβ(υτέρου) προσφέροντος v.v. τὸ πρὶν ἔνθα ἀπόθητον  
μετὰ ἀψίδων καὶ πλακώσεως· διὸ ἐνθάδε κίται, ἐξ ἐπιμελίας δὲ  
5 Ἡλίας ἀρχιδ(ιακόνου), γένους Μαιουρίνου, ἔτους υἱβ' τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας),  
χρόνον ια' ἰν < δ > ικ(τιῶνος).

Date: 412 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 1 September AD 517 – 21 March AD 518.

256. *DJEBEL EL-KULÊB* block

Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 339-40, no. 731.

[- ----] Χάριτος γυ[ναικὸς]  
[κοιμηθεῖ]σης, Αἰν(ιος) ΜΟ[- ----]

[--- ἐξ ιδίω]γ τὸν τόπον [----]  
[ῥκοδόμησ]εν, ἐν ἔτι υιε΄.

**Date:** 415 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 520 – 21 March AD 521.

257. 'AZRA stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 266, no. 277.

[----- ἐν]-  
θάδε κεῖται, ἡβη(ς)  
ἄνθος ἔχων, ἐτέ-  
ων ἐπὶ εἴκοσι  
πέντε, ἐν  
ἔτ(ει) υιθ΄. +

**Date:** 419 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 524 – 21 March AD 525.

258. BOSTRA block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 198-99, no. 9126.

Ῥσαῖας καὶ Θεάδαρος καὶ  
[Ῥλ]ίας, υἱοὶ Σέω, ἐθεμελίω-  
[σα]γ καὶ ἡτιλίωσαν, χρόν(ων)  
[δευτέ]ρας ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), ἐν ἧτι υιθ΄, μη(νὸς) Ῥρτ-  
εμ(ισίου). (on the moulding of the lower frame)

**Date:** Artemisios 419 E.P.A., 2nd ind. = 21 April – 20 May AD 524.

259. MAHAIIY stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 352, no. 351.

[Ῥνθάδε κῖτ]-  
ε ΙΩ.... [Γε]-  
λασέου, ζ(ήσας) ἔ-  
τ(η) δύο, τελευ-  
5 τέσας ἐν μ-  
ηνὶ Δίῳ, το-  
ῦ ἔτους υιθ΄,  
ἰν(δικτιῶνος) γ΄.

**Date:** Dios 419 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 18 October – 16 November AD 524.

260. EL-KERAK stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 39-40, no. 11.

[Ῥνθάδ]-  
ε κῖτε Ὀλ-  
εσος Γόρ-



που, ζήσα-  
 5 ς ἔτη π',  
 [...] υκ'  
 IO

**Date:** 420 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 525 – 21 March AD 526.

261. *REHOVOT* two fragments of a slab  
 Bibl. Y. Tsafir, *Qedem* 25 (1988), pp. 168-69, no. 24.

|-----|  
 [ca.5]Ω!|----|  
 |ἐν μ|ἐνι Ξα|νθικῶ|  
 ια', ἔτους υκ'.

**Date:** 11 Xanthikos 420 E.P.A. = 1 April AD 525.

*Comments:* Tsafir, the editor of the inscription, considers also the possibility of a lost numerical figure after the letters υκ', the date thus ranging between υκα' and υκθ' (421-429 E.P.A.). According to Tsafir "if this is correct, the date of the inscription would fall between 526 and 534".

262. *QASR EL-HALLABAT* lintel  
 Bibl. *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 22-23, no. 18; D.L. Kennedy, *BAR-S* 134 (Oxford 1982), p. 40.

Ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Ἀναστασίου ὑπερ-  
 φρεστ(άτου) κ(αὶ) πανευφ(ήμου) ἀπ <ὀ> ὑπά-  
 των κ(αὶ) δοῦξ ἀνενεώθη τὰ  
 κάστραν ἐν ἔτι υκδ', χρ(όνων) ζ' ἰγδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 424 E.P.A., 7th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 529.

263. *RAS-SIYAGHA*  
 See C.C. no. 46.

264. *REHOVOT* floor slab  
 Bibl. Y. Tsafir, *Qedem* 25 (1988), pp. 154-55, no. 1.

Ἐκουμέθη  
 ὁ τρισμ(ακάριος) Ἰάκο-  
 βος, ὁ πρ(εσβύτερος), μη(νός) Ὑπ-  
 ερβ(ερεταίου) κδ', ἔτ(ους) υκε'.

**Date:** 24 Hyperberetaios 425 E.P.A. = 11 October AD 530.

*Comments:* Concerning the date of the inscription Tsafir writes: "The last letter in the year is not clear. We tend to read it as ε', making the date October 11, 530 C.E., but any October 11 from 526 to 534 is possible".

265. *JABER* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Piccirillo, *Chiese*, pp. 50-51.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου) κ(αὶ) ὠσιωτά-  
του Ἀγαπίου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἐψηφώθη τῷ  
μέσαυλον τῇ|ς ἀγ(ιωτάτης) ἐκκλησίας,  
ἐκ σπουδῆς Ἡλ[ίου] πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αὶ) Ἀννι-  
5 ανοῦ ἀρχιδιακό(νου) κ(αὶ) Ἰωάννου οἰκονόμου,  
μη(νός) Ἰανουαρίου πρότη, χρό(νων) θ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), ἔτους  
υκε' τῆς ἐπαρχί(ας), ἐξ ιδίων αὐτῆς.

Date: 1 January 425 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 1 January AD 531.

266. *EL-MĀLIKĪYE* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 511, no. 2198; *PA* III, p. 353.

--- ΠΟΥ, ἔτους υκε', ἐτάφει ---  
--- ΤΟΥΤΟΣ, ἄμα Σέος καὶ ---  
--- ΚΠΡΟΤ + ΚΚΑ Σευέρα Ι ---

Date: 428 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 533 – 21 March AD 534.

267. *RIHAB* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 30 (1980), p. 489, no. 1715.

1 Ἐψηφώθη καὶ ἐτελειόθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος τῆς ἀγία <ς> Μαρίας ἐπὶ  
Μαρτυρίου (καὶ) Ἡλίου (καὶ) Ὀλέφου, υἱῶν Ὀλέφου  
2 τῶν μακαρ(ίων), ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως αὐτῶν (καὶ) τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων τοῦ  
ἔτους υκε', μη(νός) Πανέμου θ', χρό(νων) ια' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος),  
3 νῦν δὲ ἀνανεοθέσαντα ψηφία ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ἡλίου Βάσσου, τοῦ θεοσεβ(ε-  
στάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) κ(αὶ) παραμο(ναρίου), τοῦ ἔτους υοζ',  
χρό(νων) α' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

Date: a) 9 Panemos 428 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 28 June AD 533.  
b) 477 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 1 September AD 582 – 21 March AD 583.

268. *ŞAHMET EL-BURDÂN* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 482, no. 2040; *PA* III, p. 353.

+ Αὔρος +  
Ἰωάν-<sup>ca.7</sup> ..... ἔτ(ους)  
νο|υ|<sup>ca.7</sup> ..... υκεθ'  
πρ|εσβ(υτέρου)?| ....

Date: 429 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 534 – 21 March AD 535.

269. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 204-205, no. 9133.

Ἐκ φιλοτ(ιμίας) τρ[ῦ] φιλοχρίστ[ου]  
ἡμῶν δεσπότης Ἰουστ[ινι]-  
ανοῦ, ἀνυσθ(είσης) δ(ιὰ) τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) [μη]-  
τροπ(ολίτου) Ἰωάν[νου], ἐκτίσθη [δ(ιὰ) Δουσι]-  
5 αρ(ίου) κ(αὶ) Ἰοβίου, ἐν ἔτει υλ[.], ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) . |.

**Date:** 43[1] – 43[9] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 536 – 21 March AD 545.

**Comments:** Since there is a missing units figure, the year numeral must range between υλ᾽ and υλθ'. For the date cf. also a similar inscription no. 276.

270. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 359, no. 359.

+ [Ἐνθάδε]  
κῆτ(αι) Μητη[ρί]-  
α Σω[ζ]ωμ[έν]-  
ου, ζήσ(ασα) ἔ[τη]  
5 ζ', τελευτ(ήσασα) [ἐ]-  
ν μη(νὶ) Λῳφ, τοῦ [(ἔτους)]  
υλ[.]α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι[δ].

**Date:** Loos 4[3]1 (or 4[6]1 or 4[9]1) E.P.A., 1[4]th ind. = 20 July – 18 August AD 536 (or 566 or 596).

**Comments:** Regarding the year numeral Canova noted: “la seconda lettera è di lettura incerta e per quanto ne rimane parebbe trattarsi di un Π; non si può dire poi se alla prima lettera numerica dell' indizione ne seguisse una seconda. Il 481 di Bostra però non coincide coll' anno X, ma coll' XI dell' indizione: è quindi probabile che si debba leggere appunto TOY (S) ΥΠΑΙΝΔΙ[A]”. This reading, however, is not correct, for the month of Loos of 481 E.P.A. does not fall in the eleventh – as Canova wrote – but in the fourth indiction year. It is very likely that either the year numeral or the indiction number have been misread by the author. Our efforts at a better reading of the date are further hindered by the fact that no photograph of the inscription has been provided by Canova. On the other hand, if one tries to combine the secure chronological data, that is Loos υλ[.]α', ι[.] indiction, only three years would come into account: υλ᾽, υξ᾽ and υζ᾽. But the tens figures (Λ, Ξ, ζ) of the three numerals do not possess the two vertical strokes representing the tens figure in the year numeral shown by Canova's copy. In any case, in view of the present state of information, any discussion about the date of the inscription is highly inconclusive.

271. *EL-AMAQA* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 316-17, no. 333.

Ἐν + θα  
κῆτε  
Ἀγάθων  
Ἀλφίου,

5 ἐτῶν ο',  
υλβ'.

**Date:** 432 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 537 – 21 March AD 538.

272. *ET-TA'LE*  
See R. Y. no. 103.

273. *'AMRA* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 494, no. 2088; *PA* III, p. 353.

Ἐκτίσθε ἐπὶ τ-  
ῆς α' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), κατὰ  
Βόστρα ἔτους υλγ',  
ἢ θύρα.

**Date:** 433 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 538.

274. *EL-KUREYE* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, pp. 470-71, no. 1966; *PA* III, p. 353.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρία-  
ς Σαίου Φιλοκά-  
λου, τοῦτον  
ἐκτίσθαι ἐξ [ι]-  
5 δίου, ἔτι υλγ'.

**Date:** 433 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 538 – 21 March AD 539.

275. *ELUSA* block  
Bibl. A. Jaussen, R. Savignac and H. Vincent, *RB* n.s. 2 (1905), p. 253, no. 13.

--- NOCMAIT ---  
--- ΔΕΙΚΟCΜ . ΕΛΕΩΝ  
---- ONMA . HN ---  
--- ΧΝΩΑΚΑΧΗΤΟ  
---- ΝΕΔΝ . διὰ τέκνου  
ἀνηπά[η ἐν μ]ηνὶ Γορπι(αί)ου  
ιη', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β', ἔτους υλγ'.

**Date:** 18 Gorpiaios 433 E.P.A., 2nd ind. = 5 September AD 538.

276. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 201-202, no. 9129.

[Ἐκ] φιλοτιμίας [τ]ο[ῦ] φιλοχρ[ίστ]ου ἡμῶ[ν]  
δεσπότου Ἰουστινιανοῦ, ἀνυσθ(είσης) <δ> ιὰ Ἰωά[ννου]

ἀ < γι > ω(τάτου) μητρ(ο)π(ολίτου), ἐκτίσθη διὰ Δουσαρίου κ(αὶ)  
 Ἰοβίου, προνονητῶν χρυσοχ(όων) προβά(των) παρ < ἀ > τῶν  
 5 + δημωτ(ικῶν). Ἐτους υλδ´.

**Date:** 434 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 539 – 21 March AD 540.

277. *BOSTRA* block  
 Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 200-201, no. 9128.

Ἐκ φιλοτιμίας τοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ φιλοχ(ρίστο)υ με-  
 τὰ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν δεσπότου, Φλ(αουίου) Ἰουστινιανοῦ, τοῦ αἰωνίου  
 Αὐγούστου, ἀνυσθείσης διὰ Ἰωάννου, τοῦ π(αν)αγιωτ(άτου)  
 καὶ μακαριωτ(άτου) ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκ(όπου) μητροπολίτου,  
 5 ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνοικοδομήθη καὶ ἐκτ(ί)σ(θη), σπου-  
 δῇ Παλλαδίου κ(αὶ) Σαβίνου, διακόνων καὶ ἐπιτρόπων,  
 ἐν μη(νὶ) Μαρτίῳ, χρ(όνων) γ´ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ ἔτους υλδ´ τῆς ἐπα[ρ]-  
 [χίας].

**Date:** March 434 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 1 – 21 March AD 540.

*Comments:* Sartre considers the date of this inscription as an argument against Grumel's theory about the shifting of the era's epoch (from 22 March AD 106 to 1 September AD 105) in late fifth or early sixth century AD.

278. *BOSTRA* block  
 Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 202, no. 9130.

Ἐκ φιλοτιμ(ίας) τοῦ δεσπότο[υ] ἡμῶν  
 Ἰουστινιανοῦ Αὐγούστου, ἀνυ[σ]-  
 θίς(ης) διὰ Ἰωάννου ὀσιωτ(άτου) ἀρχιεπι-  
 σκ(όπου), ἐκτίσθη ἡ μεσόπυργ(ος), σπουδ(ῇ)  
 5 Ζήνωνος δουκικ(οῦ), ἔτ(ους) υλε´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ´.

**Date:** 435 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 540.

279. *BOSTRA* block  
 Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 203, no. 9131.

[Ἐκ φιλοτιμίας τοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) κ(αὶ) φιλοχρ(ίστου) μετὰ Θ(εο)ῦ]  
 [ἡ]μῶν δεσπότο[υ],  
 [Φλ(αουίου) Ἰουστινιανοῦ, τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγ(ούστου), ἀνυ]σθεί(σης) διὰ  
 Ἰωάννου,  
 [τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) καὶ μακαριωτ(άτου) ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκ(όπου), ἐκτι]σθη  
 ἐκ θεμελίων  
 [καὶ ἐτελευτήθη -----] ὈΝ, διὰ Προκοπίου ΠΑ [-----]  
 5 [----- καὶ -----] τῶν μεγαλοπρε(πε)στ(ά)των  
 [----- τοῦ ἔτους] υλε´.

**Date:** 435 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 540 – 21 March AD 541.

280. 'AZRA stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 267, no. 278.

Ἐνθά-  
[δ]ε κῆτ(αι) Θεο-  
[δ]ώρα Προκο-  
[πί]ου, ζήσας(α)  
5 ἔτη ιε', (τοῦ) υλζ'.

**Date:** 436 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 541 – 21 March AD 542.

281. EL-KERAK stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 40-41, no. 12.

Ἐν + θά-  
δε κεῖται  
Ἀναστας(ι)α  
Ἀόβδου,  
5 ζήσασα ἔτ-  
η ζ', υλζ'.

**Date:** 436 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 541 – 21 March AD 542.

282. AUJA HAFIR (Nessana) block  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 180, no. 113.

[+ Ἄ]μρον  
[Σ]άδου,  
[ἐτ(ῶν)] κα', ἐτελ(εύτησεν)  
[μη]νὶ Δίου,  
5 [. ἔ]τους υ-  
λζ'.

**Date:** Dios 436 E.P.A. = 18 October – 16 November AD 541.

283. AUJA HAFIR (Nessana) slab  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 179-80, no. 112.

+ Μγεμῖον Στεφάν(ου)  
Ἀλαφάλου· ἐτε[λ]ε[ύ]-  
τεσεν ἐτὸν ιβ', ἐ[ν] μῆ(νι)  
Δίου ι', ἔτ(ους) υ < λ > ζ', κ[αὶ] Δωρο]-  
5 θεου, ἐτὸν ζ' κ(αὶ) . [---]  
APAC, ἐτὸν ζ'.

**Date:** 10 Dios 436 E.P.A. = 27 October AD 541.

284. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* block  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 181, no. 114.

+ Μνημῖον Ἀζζο-  
νήνη, ἐμ μενὶ Δ[ί]-  
ου ςι', ἔτους τῆς π-  
όλεος υλς'· αὐ(τη) θῡ-  
5 γάτηρ Ἀββου. +

**Date:** 16 Dios 436 E.P.A. = 2 November AD 541.

285. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* block  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 168, no. 80.

+ Μνημῖον Ζόναι-  
νος Δωροθέου,  
τοῦ Ζοναίνου· ἐτε-  
λεύτεσεν ἐτὸν κη',  
5 τοῦ ἔτους υλς', μη(νὸς) Δίου ηι',  
ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ε'.

**Date:** 18 Dios 436 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 4 November AD 541.

286. *REHOVOT* floor slab  
Bibl. Y. Tsafirir, *Qedem* 25 (1988), pp. 161-62, no. 11.

Ἀνηπ(ά) ἡ μ(ακαρία)  
Μαρία Κορέβ(ου?),  
μη(νὸς) Δίου κγ', ἔτους υλς'.

**Date:** 23 Dios 436 E.P.A. = 9 November AD 541.

287. *'AVDAT* tombstone  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 30-31, no. 17.

Ἀνεπάη Ζαχα-  
ρίας Ἰωάννου, ἐτῶ(ν)  
κ', ἐν μη(νὶ) Χοΐακ κγ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε',  
ἔτ(ους) υλς', ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν  
5 τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ  
ἀγ(ίου) Θεοδώρου.

**Date:** 23 Choiak 436 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 19 December AD 541.

288. *EL- 'AINA* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 403, no. 419.

+ 'Ενθάδε κῆ-  
ε Κυριακὸ-  
ς Ποσιδονί-  
ου, ζήσας  
5 ἔτη ζ', τελε-  
υτήσας τ(οῦ) ἔ-  
τ(ους) υλζ'. +

**Date:** 437 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 542 – 21 March AD 543.

289. *REHOVOT* floor slab  
Bibl. Y. Tsafir, *Qedem* 25 (1988), pp. 157-58, no. 5.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε, ἀνάπα(υ)σον τὸν δοῦλ(όν)  
σου Ἡλίαν Μακεδ(ονίου), τὸν  
τρισμακάρ(ιον) πρεσβ(ύτερον), ἐκουμή(θη)  
ἐ(ν) μ(η)ν(ὶ) Δαισ(ίῳ) ζι', ἔτους υλζ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε'.

**Date:** 17 Daisios 437 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 6 June AD 542.

*Comments:* On a photograph of the inscription, published in *Qedem*, we notice that the word Δαισ(ίῳ) in the fourth line is followed by the reversed number ζι', and not only ζ' as given in the above mentioned publication. In our opinion the letter Ἰ is clearly indicated with two dots above it and is rendered similarly to the first letter of the word ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) at the end of the inscription.

290. *ADER* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 179-80, no. 200.

+ 'Ενθάδε  
κῆτ(αι) Ἰηὲς Βα-  
ρίχου, ζή(σας) ἔτ(η)  
ια', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε', μ(ηνὸς) Λῶο(υ)  
5 [..], τ(οῦ) ἔτ(ους) υλζ'.

**Date:** Loos 437 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 20 July – 18 August AD 542.

291. *DJRÊN* stele  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 403-404, no. 792<sup>1</sup>.

Φασαι-  
έλη 'Α-  
μέρο-  
υ, ἐτῶ-  
ν ιη',  
υλη'.

**Date:** 438 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 543 – 21 March AD 544.



292. *DJEMERRÎN* block  
Bibl. *CIG* 9146; Waddington, p. 469, no. 1959b; *PA* III, p. 354.

Ἐκ<τ> ἰσθ(η) τὸ μνημ(εῖον) τ(οῦ)  
μακαρ(ίου) Στεφάνου,  
πα<υ> σ(αμένου), ἐν μην(ι) Ἀπ<ελλ> (αἰφ?),  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ', τοῦ ἔτους υλη'.

**Date:** Apellaios 438 E.P.A., 7th ind. = 17 November – 16 December AD 543.

*Comments:* From the letters standing for the month designation, *CIG* restored Ἀπ<ελλ> (αἰφ?), whereas Waddington read Ἀπρι[λι](φ).

293. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 292, no. 307.

[...ca.10...]  
... B [...ca.6...]  
... HCOY, ζήσ<α> -  
ς ἔτη ε', [τ]ελευ-  
[τή]σ<α>ς ἐν μ(ηνί) Ἀπε-  
λ(λαίφ), ἡμ(έρᾳ) ιη', ἔτ(ους) υμ',  
ἐν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)[ῶ].

**Date:** 18 Apellaios 440 E.P.A. = 4 December AD 545.

*Comments:* The above mentioned date cannot be considered very secure for as Canova noted: “l’ ultima lettera numerica dell’ anno di morte non si può rilevare con sicurezza”. There is no way to check Canova’s reading since the only evidence available is an illustration of the deteriorated stone surface provided by her.

294. *MAHNA* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 282-83, no. 297.

[Ἐνθά]-  
[δε κεῖτ(αι)] Ἰφ-  
ἀγνης Κα[ι]-  
οὔμου, ζήσ(ας)  
5 ἔτη ξ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [.],  
τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υμ[.].

**Date:** 44[1] – 44[9] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 546 – 21 March AD 555.

*Comments:* In this inscription the indiction year as well as the units figure of the year numeral are missing. Thus the date will probably range between 441 and 449 which converted into Christian date is 22 March AD 546 up to 21 March AD 555.

295. *DHATRAS* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 335-36, no. 342.

Ἐνθ(άδε) κῆ[ι]τ(αι)]  
Φασιήλη

Ποσιδονί-  
ου, ζήσασα  
5 ἔτη λε', τε-  
λευτ(ήσασα) μη(νός) Ἀπ-  
πελλ(αίου) β', τοῦ  
υμ[., ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)]  
ι[.?.]

**Date:** 2 Apellaios 44[1] – 44[6] E.P.A., 10th – 1[5]th ind. = 18 November AD 546 – 551.

*Comments:* If the letter I in the last line is really referring to the indiction year, then the restoration of the units figure of the year numeral υμ[α], proposed by Canova, seems quite reasonable since the month Apellaios of the year 441 falls exactly in the tenth indiction. If, however, one more figure stood next to I, then this should be A or B or Γ or Δ or E. Correspondingly, the restoration of the units figure of the year numeral would also be affected, ranging between υμβ' and υμς'.

296. *SĀLA* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 337-38, no. 728.

+ Εὐκτῆριν ἀγίω(ν) Ἡλίου καὶ ΔΙ [- ---- προσ]-  
δεξονται τὴν προσφωρά(ν) ΤΩ [- - - - -]  
καὶ εὐλογ(ήσουσι) τῶν εἰσοδον καὶ τῶν ἐξοδον -- -].  
'Εκτίσθαι ἔτους υμβ', μ[ηνός - - - - -].

**Date:** 442 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 547 – 21 March AD 548.

297. *REHOVOT* two fragments of a slab  
Bibl. Y. Tsafir and K.G. Holum, *IEJ* 38 (1988), pp. 126-27.

[+ Ἐπὶ τοῦ] ἀγιωτάτου κ(αὶ) ὡσιω[τάτου ... ἐπ(ισκόπου)]  
[- - - -] κ(αὶ) ἐπὶ Στεφάνου ΣΟΔ [- -  
[τοῦτο τὸ] ἔργον, ἔτους υμβ' (or υμε' or υμθ').

**Date:** 442 (or 445 or 449) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 547 (or 550 or 554) – 21 March AD 548 (or 551 or 555).

*Comments:* The editors of the inscription, Tsafir and Holum, have suggested that the third numerical figure of the date is either an E or a Θ. In our opinion, however, from what is seen in the figure and photograph they provide, a B should be considered a possible reading also.

298. *EL-FRANG* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 222-23, no. 228.

Ἐν + θά-  
δε κεῖται  
Ἐννάθη Μα-

καρίου, ζήσα-  
 5 σα ἔτη μ', τοῦ  
 ἔτ(ους) υμε'.

**Date:** 445 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 550 – 21 March AD 551.

299. 'AMRA lintel  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 494, no. 2089; *PA* III, p. 354.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) Ἡλίου καὶ Καιούνω πρ(εσ)β(υτέρου) ἐγέ(νε)το ἡ  
 θύρα, ἐν ἔτει υμε', χρόνων ιδ' ἰγδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 445 E.P.A., 14th ind. = 1 September AD 550 – 21 March AD 551.

300. 'AVDAT tombstone  
 Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 29, no. 16.

+ Ἐξησεν ὁ μα-  
 κάριος Γερμα-  
 νὸς Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου ἔτη ιζ'  
 5 καὶ μῆνας ζ',  
 καὶ ἐτελεύτη-  
 σεν ἄγαμος,  
 ἐν μηνὶ Δίου θ',  
 ἰνδι(κτιῶνος) ιδ', ἔτους  
 10 υμε. ++

**Date:** 9 Dios 445 E.P.A., 14th ind. = 26 October AD 550.

*Comments:* Obviously by mistake in Negev's publication 9 Dios has been equated with 25 October instead of 26.

301. SHUHBA (Philippopolis) block (?)  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 493, no. 2080; *PA* III, p. 354.

Ἐκ σπουδῆς Ἰω[άννου]  
 (καὶ) Ἡλίου, τέκ<ν> α ΟCEQ,  
 ἐγένετο τὸ περ(ίβολον?),  
 ἐν ἔτι υμς'.

**Date:** 446 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 551 – 21 March AD 552.

302. SHUHBA (Philippopolis) soffit of an arch  
 Bibl. *AAES* III, pp. 314-15, no. 403; *PA* III, p. 203, no. 16 and p. 354.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ θε-  
 ωφιλεστάτ-

ου Βασιλείου ἐπ-  
ισκ(όπου), ἐκτί(σθη) το(σ)ῷ ἔτους  
5 υμζ', πρότ(ης) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 447 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 1 September AD 552 – 21 March AD 553.

303. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 41, no. 13.

+ Ἐνθάδε  
κῖτ(αι) Σέργιος,  
ζήσας ἔτ(η)  
γδ', ἐν τ(ῷ)  
5 υμη'.

**Date:** 448 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 553 – 21 March AD 554.

304. *KHIRBET UMM EL-HAMED* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 278-79, no. 294.

[Ἐν + θά]-  
δε κῖται  
Θεόδωρ-  
ος Ἀν[δ]ρ[ο]μ-  
5 άχου, ζήσας  
<ξ> τη ιε', τοῦ ἡτους  
υμη'.

**Date:** 448 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 553 – 21 March AD 554.

305. *REHOVOT* stele  
Bibl. N. Schmidt and B.B. Charles, *AJA* 14 (1910), p. 63, no. 10.

Ἀνεπά(η) ... M ... N (around top)  
+ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ', ἔτ(ους) υμθ' (on the base)

**Date:** 449 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 1 September AD 554 – 21 March AD 555.

306. *REHOVOT* floor slab  
Bibl. Y. Tsafir, *Qedem* 25 (1988), p. 160, no. 9.

Ἀνε(πάη) ὦ μακάρι(ος)  
Στέφ(ανος) Ἀβαδέλγου  
πρεσιβίτρου,  
ἐμ μ(ηνι) Δύστρου ιζ',  
5 ἔτους υμθ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ'.

**Date:** 17 Dystros 449 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 3 March AD 555.

307. *AMRA* lintel  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 494, no. 2090; *PA* III, p. 354.

Μνήσθητι	Ἐπὶ τῶν
Κ(ύρι)ε π <άν> των	θεοσεβ(εστάτων) Δο-
τῶν ἀδε-	νέσου κ(αὶ) Ἡλίου]
.. ΚΩΠΟΓΟ	ἐκτίσθη, ἐν ἔτ(ει) υν'.

**Date:** 450 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 555 – 21 March AD 556.

308. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 42, no. 14.

Ἰωά-  
νης  
Νόνο-  
υ, ζήσα[ς]  
5 ἔτη ια',  
τοῦ ἔ-  
τ(ους) υν'.

**Date:** 450 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 555 – 21 March AD 556.

309. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 42-43, no. 15.

[Μ]εγάλη [Θεο]-  
φίλου, ζήσ[ασα]  
ἔτη ιβ', τ(οῦ) ἔ[τους]  
υν'.

**Date:** 450 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 555 – 21 March AD 556.

310. *EL-KUREYE* block (?)  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 150, no. 1153.

Ἰούλιος Μαρκιαν[ός],  
β[ο]υλ(ευτής) Β[ο]στρ(ηνῶν), ἔκτ[ι]σεν  
πατρ(ί), μητρ(ί), ἀδελ[φ]εαῖ[ς],  
μνη/μης/ χάρ/ιν, (in the right margin)  
ἔτ(ους)/ υ/ν'. (in the left margin)

**Date:** 450 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 555 – 21 March AD 556.

311. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* block  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 181-82, no. 115.

+ Ἐτελεύτ(ησεν)  
Θοκίμης  
Σάδου, μη-  
vi Ξανθ(ικοῦ) γί',  
5 ἔτ(ους) υν', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ'.

**Date:** 13 Xanthikos 450 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 3 April AD 555.

312. *AILA* block  
Bibl. M. Schwabe, *HThR* 46 (1953), pp. 49-55; *SEG* 13 (1956), p. 156, no. 598.

[Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς ? ἐλ[έησ]-  
[ον] τὴν ψυχ[ὴν το]-  
[ῦ] δ[ι]οῦλο[υ] σο[-  
[υ] Ὀσέδου, ὁ[ς]  
ἀν[ε]π(ά)η ἐν μ(ηνὶ) Ἀ-  
[ρ]ητ(εμισίου) κε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ', ἔτ(ους) υν'.

**Date:** 25 Artemisios 450 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 15 May AD 555.

313. *REHOVOT* stele  
Bibl. N. Schmidt and B.B. Charles, *AJA* 14 (1910), p. 62, no. 5.

+ Ἀνεπάε ὁ μακάριος Βίκτωρ (around circumference of top)  
+ ἐν με(v)ῖ Λόου κβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ', τοῦ ἔτους υν'. (on the lower part of  
top and on base)

**Date:** 22 Loos 450 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 10 August AD 555.

314. *REHOVOT* stele  
Bibl. N. Schmidt and B.B. Charles, *AJA* 14 (1910), p. 61, no. 2.

Μενὶ Ξανθι(κοῦ) ἐκ', τοῦ ἔτους υνα', (around circumference of top)  
ἀνεπ(ά)η ἐ Μα[ρία] Μαρίαζ. (on the base)

**Date:** 25 Xanthikos 451 E.P.A. = 15 April AD 556.

315. *UMM EL-JIMÂL* capital  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA3, p. 151, no. 260.

Ἐτ(ους) + υνα'.

**Date:** 451 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 556 – 21 March AD 557.

316. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 44-45, no. 17.

Ἐν + θά-  
δε κεῖτ(αι)  
Θεοδώρα  
Ζηνοβίου,  
5 ζήσ(ασα) ἔτη  
...., υἱα΄ (or υἱδ΄).

**Date:** 451 (or 454) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 556 – 21 March AD 557 (or 22 March AD 559 – 21 March AD 560).

317. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 43-44, no. 16.

+ [Ἐν] + θάδ-  
[ε] κεῖνται Κ[υρί]λ-  
λας [καὶ] Θεοδώρ-  
α, ζήσαντες ἔτη  
5 ἰζ΄ (καὶ) ζ΄, τοῦ ἔτους  
υἱα΄, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε΄.

**Date:** 451 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 1 September AD 556 – 21 March AD 557.

318. *ʿAZRA* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 267-68, no. 279.

Ἐν + θά-  
δε κ[ῖτ(αι)] Σάφ-  
θα, [ζήσα]ς ἔ-  
τη κε΄, υἱβ΄.

**Date:** 452 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 557 – 21 March AD 558.

319. *GARĪYE EL-GARBĪYE* lintel  
Bibl. *PA* III, p. 354.

+ Ἀθλοφόρ(ου) μάρτυρ(ος)  
ἀγίου Γεωργίου, ἐκ σπουδῆς  
Ἰωσέφου, πρεσβ(υτέρου), χρόν(ων)  
ς΄ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), ἐν τ(ῷ) υἱγ΄, χιρὶ Σεργίου ΤΑ  
5 ΠΑΠΩΔ (καὶ) Γεωργίου κομογρ(αμματέως?).

**Date:** 453 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 558.

320. *AINUN* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 235-36, no. 238.

Ἐ + νθ-  
άδε κῖ-  
τε Ζήνω-  
ν Ἀνδρο-  
5 μάχου,  
ζήσας ἔ-  
τη πε΄,  
(ἔτους) υνδ΄.

**Date:** 454 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 559 – 21 March AD 560.

321. *ER-RUSHEIDE* lintel (?)  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 668, no. 79; *PA* III, p. 354.

[Θεοῦ] βοηθόντος  
[....] Ν Καδάμου ἔκ-  
[τισε]γ καὶ ἐτελίωσ-  
[εν ἐν] ἔτει υγε΄, χρ(όνων) θ΄ ἰν(δικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 455 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 1 September AD 560 – 21 March AD 561.

322. *EL-FRANG* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 223-24, no. 229.

Ἐν + θά-  
δε κῖτε Ἀθ-  
άνης Θέμου,  
ζήσας ἔτη  
5 ια΄, ἐν μη(νὶ) Ἀπελ(λαίου),  
τ(οῦ) υνε΄, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ΄.

**Date:** Apellaios 455 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 17 November – 16 December AD 560.

323. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* slab  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 182, no. 116.

+ Ἐκυμήθ(η)  
ὁ μακάρ(ιος)  
Ἀλάφ(αλλας) Ζ-  
ον(αίνου), ἐ(ν) μη(νὶ)  
5 Ἀπελ(λαίου) δ΄,  
τοῦ ἔτους  
υνε΄.

**Date:** 4 Apellaios 455 E.P.A. = 20 November AD 560.



324. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 353, no. 352.

[+] Ἐνθάδε  
[κῑ]τε Βάριχος  
[Πο]σιδονίου,  
[ζή]σας ἐτῶν ι´,  
5 [. ἐ]γράφῃ ἐν μην(νι)  
[Ξα]νθικῷ,  
[ἐτ(ους)] υνζ´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι´.

**Date:** Xanthikos 456 E.P.A., <9> th ind. = 22 March – 20 April AD 561.

*Comments:* Canova proposed three different restorations for the third letter of the year numeral, whose reading is quite uncertain: Α, Δ, ζ . ζ´ seems the most plausible choice as the year 456 of provincia Arabia is closer to the tenth indiction year than the other two (451, 454). However, even in this case the month Xanthikos of 456 E.P.A. falls in the ninth and not in the tenth indiction year. But such a discordance between the indiction and the compound era year + month is frequently encountered at Maḥaiy. See also inscr. nos. 430, 469, 477, 515, 520, 524.

325. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 292-93, no. 308.

Ἐν + θά-  
δε κῑτα(ι)  
Δωρόθε-  
ος Ἡλίου,  
5 ζήσα(ς) ἔθ-  
η β´, τοῦ ἔ[τ(ους)]  
υνζ´. +

**Date:** 456 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 561 – 21 March AD 562.

*Comments:* The middle letter of the year numeral could also possibly be restored as Α, for it resembles the peculiar Ͱ used in the word “Ἡλίου” in the fourth line. In that case the date would be: 436 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 541 – 21 March AD 542.

326. *DHAT-RAS* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 336-37, no. 343.

+ Εὐκλ[ι]-  
δης Εὐβ-  
ούλου,  
ἔτ(ους) υνζ´.

**Date:** 457 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 562 – 21 March AD 563.

327. *MADABA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, p. 132, no. 133.

+ Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁσίου(τάτου) καὶ ἁγίου(τάτου) ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου Ἰωάννου +  
οἰκοδομήθη ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ ἐστεγάσθη καὶ ἐψηφώθη  
καὶ ἐτελιώθη ὁ πανάγ(ιος) τόπος τοῦ ἐνδόξου μάρτυ-  
ρος Θεοδώρου, ἐν μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ, χρόνων  
5 ἐνδεκάτ(ης) [ἰνδι]κ(τιῶνος), ἐν ἔτι τετρακοσ(ιοστῷ) πεντη[κοστῷ]  
ἐβδόμῳ.

**Date:** September 457 E.P.A., 11th ind. = September AD 562.

*Comments:* If in the late fifth – early sixth century AD the epoch of the era of provincia Arabia had moved back into September AD 105 in order to coincide with the beginning of the indiction year – as Grumel suggested (*Chronologie*, p. 215) –, then September 457 E.P.A. would have fallen in the tenth and not in the eleventh indiction year. This text further corroborates Sartre's antithesis to Grumel's suggestion for a backward modification of the epoch of the era. See also C.C. no. 46.

328. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* tombstone  
Bibl. H. Hänsler, *HL* 61 (1917), p. 13; Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 182, no. 117.

υνη´  
(incomplete text)

**Date:** 458 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 563 – 21 March AD 564.

329. *NEDJRÂN* block  
Bibl. Waddington, pp. 557–58, no. 2431; *PA* III, p. 355.

+ Σέργιος Σαμαάθου, <κ>ώ(μης) Νορεράθης, φυλῆς  
Σοβορηνῶν, ἐξ ιδίων ἔκτισεν τὸ(ν)  
ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλίας, ἐν ἔτι υνη´, ἰνδικ[τι]-  
ῶνι [. .].

**Date:** 458 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 563 – 21 March AD 564.

330. *SŪR* lintel  
Bibl. Ewing, *PEFQS* 1895, p. 138, no. 66; *PA* III, p. 355.

+ Ἄγιος Λιοντίου  
βοήθῃ ἡμῶν κώμ(η).  
Τύμβος Εὐτολμίου,  
(ἐ)γράφε ἐπὶ τῆς ιβ´ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος),  
5 ἔτ<ο>υς υνθ´ τῆς ἐπαρ(χίας),  
+ χιρὶ Ἡλίας Βαραχέ[ως].

**Date:** 459 E.P.A., 12th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 564.

331. *NEGEV* (area of) epistylum  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 45, no. 294.

----- οὗτος  
[ἐπὶ -- ]σίου Σε[- -]  
[- - - θε]οφιλ(εστάτου)  
κ(αι) πρεσβυτέ(ρου),  
5 ἔτους υνθ',  
[- - οἱ]κοδ(όμησεν) Φεσάν(ου) υἱός.

**Date:** 459 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 564 – 21 March AD 565.

332. *MAHAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 353-54, no. 353.

[- - - - -] ζήσας  
[- - - - -] ἔτη λ',  
[- - - - -] μη(νός) 'Υ-  
περ(βερεταίου),  
5 [- - - - -] τοῦ ἔτ(ους)  
υνθ', [ι(νδικτιῶνος)]  
ιγ'.

**Date:** Hyperberetaios 459 E.P.A., 13th ind. = 18 September – 17 October AD 564.

333. *DŪR* lintel (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 551, no. 2412p; *PA* III, p. 355.

+ Οὐάρος <K>υρίλ<λ>ου <κ>αὶ <K>ύ<ρι>λλο[ς ὁ] αὐτοῦ  
υἱ <ὁς> ἔξ ι-  
δίων κόπων ἔκτισαν τὸν νῆδον τ[ο]ῦ  
αἰγίου Λεοντίου, ἐν ἔτι υξ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [- - -].

**Date:** 460 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 565 – 21 March AD 566.

334. *NAWĀ* block (?)  
Bibl. V. Chapot, *BCH* 24 (1900), p. 580; *PA* III, p. 355.

+ Ἐκ προσφορ(ᾶς) Σευ-  
ερίνας Ἀννιανοῦ  
τῶν Ῥαγδίλου,  
ἐγένετο ἡ ἀψὶς  
τοῦ ἡμισφερίου,  
ἐν μη(νὶ) Ἰουνίῳ, ἐν ἔτι υξ' (?).

**Date:** June 460 (?) E.P.A. = June AD 565.

335. *SĀLA* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 521, no. 2261; *PA* III, p. 355.

+ IE..N.... ἀνενεώθη ἡ ἀγιωτ(άτη)  
ἐκκλησία ἐκ προνοίας τοῦ κοινοῦ  
καὶ σπουδῆς Γεωργίου καὶ Τίο[υ],  
ἐπιμελητῶν, ὁμνύοντες κατὰ τῇ[ν]  
5 Ἀγίαν Τριάδα ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐγρίπη-  
σαν, ἐν ἔτη [.].ξϛ' τῆς ἐπαρχίας. +

**Date:** 46[1] – 46[9] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 566 – 21 March AD 575.

*Comments:* The units figure of the year numeral is missing. Therefore the date will range between αξϛ' and θξϛ'.

336. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 293-94, no. 309.

+ Ἐνθά[δε]  
κῖτρ[ι ...]  
C Κασσίο[υ],  
ζήσας ἔ[τη] . . ,  
5 τελευτή[σας]  
ἐν μηνὶ [Αὐ]-  
δονέω ιξ',  
(ἔτους) υξασ'.

**Date:** 16 Audynaïos 461 E.P.A. = 1 January AD 567.

337. *HARRĀN* lintel (?)  
Bibl. Ewing, *PEFQS* 1895, pp. 145-46, no. 81; *PA* III, p. 355.

[Ἀ]σαράηλος Ταλέμου,  
φύλαρχ(ος), ἔκτισεν τὸ μαρτ(ύριον)  
τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α', τοῦ ἔτους υξγ'. Μνησθῆε ὁ γράψας. +

**Date:** 463 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 568.

338. *MAHAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 354-55, no. 354.

Ἐνθάδε  
κῖται Ῥοῦ-  
μος Ζαβέ-  
δου, ζήσ < α > -  
5 ς ἔτη λ', τοῦ  
ἔτους υξγ'.

**Date:** 463 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 568 – 21 March AD 569.

339. *REHOVOT* stele

Bibl. A. Jaussen, R. Savignac and H. Vincent, *RB* n.s. 2 (1905), p. 256, no. 21; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 381, no. 13.

Στέφ(ανος) διάκ(ονος),  
ἐν μη(νὶ) Δεσ(ίου) ιθ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ',  
ἔτ(ους) υξγ'.

**Date:** 19 Daisios 463 E.P.A., <1>st ind. = 8 June AD 568 or  
19 Daisios 46<5> E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 8 June AD 570.

*Comments:* Although the dating elements of the inscription are clearly visible on the *RB*'s squeeze, there is a discordance between the year and the indiction. The 19th of Daisios of 463 E.P.A. does not fall in the third, but in the first indiction year. Schwartz suggested that the mistake must be in the year numeral, for according to him "die Indiktion war schon damals das wichtigste und maßgebende Element der Datierung, so daß sie allein vorkommt". In any case, in order to obtain a correct converted date, one must have either year 463 E.P.A. and first indiction or year 465 E.P.A. and third indiction.

340. *ADER* stele

Bibl. Canova, pp. 180-81, no. 201.

+ Ἐνθά[δε]  
κῆτ(αι) Δουσάρ(ιος)  
Διοκλ(έους), ζήσ(ας)  
ἔτ(η) ιδ', μη(νὸς) Ἀφ-  
5 ου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β', ἔτ(ους)  
+ υξδ'.

**Date:** Loos 464 E.P.A., 2nd ind. = 20 July – 18 August AD 569.

341. *EL-KERAK* tombstone

Bibl. Canova, p. 45, no. 18.

Ἀναστασία  
Προκοπίου ἔνθα  
κῆτ(αι), ζήσασα ἔτη ι-  
β' + ἔτ(ους) υξδ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
5 + γ'. +

**Date:** 464 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 1 September AD 569 – 21 March AD 570.

342. *EL-KERAK* stele

Bibl. Canova, pp. 46-47, no. 19.

+  
Χ(ριστ)ῆ Σῶ(τε)ρ,  
ἀνάπαυσον

τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ  
 δούλου σου Βαρί-  
 5 [χου, ζήσ[α]ς ἐτ(η)  
 [... τοῦ ἐ]τ(ους) υἱοῦ,  
 [+ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)] γ'. +

**Date:** 464 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 1 September AD 569 – 21 March AD 570.

343. *EL-KERAK* stele  
 Bibl. V. Corbo, *LA* 14 (1963-1964), pp. 232-33, no. 1.

+  
 Ἐνθάδε  
 κῆται Στέ-  
 φανος Ἰω-  
 άννου, ζή-  
 5 σας ἐτ(η) γ',  
 τ(οῦ) υἱοῦ.

**Date:** 465 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 570 – 21 March AD 571.

344. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* fragmentary block  
 Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 167-68, no. 78.

[+ Ἐτε]λ(εύτησεν) ὁ μα-  
 [κάρι]ως διάκ(ονος)  
 [κ(αὶ) μ]οναχῶς,  
 [ἐν μην]ῇ Πανέ-  
 5 [μου] πρότῃ, τοῦ  
 [ἐτο]υς υἱοῦ,  
 [ἰν]δ(ικτιῶνος) γ'. +

**Date:** 1 Panemos 465 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 20 June AD 570.

345. *EL-MOTE* stele  
 Bibl. Canova, pp. 294-95, no. 310.

[Μνημεῖον]  
 [Δ]ιοέβου  
 ... ΟΥ, ζήσας  
 ἐτ(η) κβ', τελ(εύτησας)  
 5 ἐν μ(ηνί) Δισ(ίω),  
 τοῦ ἔτους υἱοῦ.

**Date:** Daisios 467 E.P.A. = 21 May – 19 June AD 572.

*Comments:* In the fifth line the abbreviation ΔΙC could also be read Δίσ(τροφ), as Canova rightly noted. In that case the date would be: Dystros 467 E.P.A. = 15 February – 16 March AD 573.

346. *BUSÂN* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 520, no. 2250; *PA* III, p. 356.

Κάδαμος Ι...ΓΛΟ τῷ ἀγί-  
ῳ Θεωδώρου ... ἐκ τὸν ἰδί-  
ν, ἐπὶ Μην[ᾶ ἐ]πισκ(όπου), ἔτο(υς) υξη΄.

**Date:** 468 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 573 – 21 March AD 574.

347. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 355-56, no. 355.

+ Ἐνθάδ-  
ε κῆτ(αι) Ῥοῦ-  
μος Βαρί-  
χου, β(ιώσας) ἔτ(η) α΄,  
5 ἐκυμήθη  
ἐν μη(νὶ) Δίῳ,  
β΄, τ(οῦ) υξθ΄, ἱ-  
νδ(ικτιῶνος) η΄. +

**Date:** 2 Dios 469 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 19 October AD 574.

348. *KUTEIBE* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 550, no. 2412i; *PA* III, p. 356.

+ Ἐκτίσθη ἡ ἀ<γ>ί-  
α ἐκλε<σ>ία, πρ-  
ονοίῃ Σαλα-  
μάνου, πρεσβ(υτέρου),  
χρόν[ω]ν .... ἔτ(ους) νο΄. +

**Date:** 470 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 575 – 21 March AD 576.

349. *MADABA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 133-34, no. 135.

[-----]  
5 [<sup>ca.8</sup>.....] δο[ξάζ]οντες πάντες ἔλεγον, λάκκος ἐν λάκκῳ,  
ὃ τοῦ θαύματος. Κ(ύρι)ε μνήσθητι τοῦ δούλου σου Σεργίου, τοῦ ἐπι-  
σκ(όπου),  
ἐφ' οὗ κα[λὸν] τοῦτο ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον σὺν τῷ εὐαγεῖ ἀναβρύτῳ.  
Ἐ[γένετο] τοῦ νο΄ ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχείας. Κ(ύρι)ε μνήσθητι καὶ τῶ(ν)  
[καρποφορησά]ντων καὶ κοπωθέντων(ν), ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα σὺ οἶδας.

**Date:** 470 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 575 – 21 March AD 576.

350. *ETH-THANIYYEH* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 259, no. 270.

Ἐν + θά-  
δε κῆτε Ψ-  
έο[ς] Ἐπιφα-  
νέου, ζή-  
5 σας ἔτη ζ', τοῦ  
ἔτους νοα'.

**Date:** 471 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 576 – 21 March AD 577.

351. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* tombstone  
Bibl. Unpublished. Israel Antiquities Authority Files.

Ἀνεπάε ὁ μακ-  
άρ(ιος) Σέργις Σεργίου,  
ἐτὸν ἡ', μη(νὸς) Γορπι(αίου),  
τοῦ ἔτους νοα'.

**Date:** Gorpaios 471 E.P.A. = 19 August – 17 September AD 576.

352. *AVDAT* stele  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 32-34, no. 19.

+ Ἀνεπάη ἡ τρισμακα-  
ρία Ἀζοναίνη Γερμα-  
νοῦ, τῇ κατὰ Γάζ(ην) μη(νὶ) Ἀ-  
πελλαίῳ κδ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι', ἡ-  
5 μέ(ρῳ) Κυ(ρι)ακ(ῆ), ὥρ(αν) θ', κατὰ δὲ  
Ἐλούσῃν Αὐδοναίῳ  
δ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι', τοῦ ἔτου(ς) νοα', κα-  
τετέθ(η) δὲ ἐνταῦθα  
τῷ αὐτῷ μη(νὶ) Ὠγδοναίου ε', ἡ-  
10 [μέ](ρῳ) β', ὥρ(αν) θ', τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτι (καὶ)  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος). +

**Date:** 4 and 5 Audynaioi 471 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 20 and 21 December AD 576.

*Comments:* This inscription offers very important evidence for the equation between the Gazaean and the Graeco-Arabic calendar. See chapter on the era of provincia Arabia, p. 157.

353. *REHOVOT* base  
Bibl. N. Schmidt and B.B. Charles, *AJA* 14 (1910), p. 64, no. 15.

+ Ἀνεπάε .... μη(νὶ) Περιτίου, ἔτους νοα'. +

No division of lines indicated.

**Date:** Peritios 471 E.P.A. = 16 January – 14 February AD 577.



354. *DHATRAS* fragment of a tombstone  
Bibl. Canova, p. 338, no. 345.

+ 'Ενθάδε κεῖτ(αι)  
Θεόδωρος Ἀμα?-  
ρίνου, ζήσ(ας) [ἔτη ..],  
τελευτ(ήσας) ἐν μ(ηνί) [....]  
5 [..], τοῦ ἔτ(ους) νοβ', [ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)]  
ι'.

**Date:** 472 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 577.

*Comments:* It is possible that next to the extant indiction numeral one more letter could have been inscribed on the now missing part as Canova noticed. The letter A is the only one compatible with the year νοβ', for it corresponds to the period from 1 September AD 577 – 21 March AD 578.

355. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 47, no. 20.

['Ε]ν [·+] θά-  
δε κεῖτ(αι) Δοσ[ι]-  
[θ]εος Γεσ[σι]-  
[ο]υ, ζήσας ἔτ(η)  
5 .ε', τοῦ (ἔτους) νοβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι'.

**Date:** 472 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 577.

356. *SUL* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 313-14, no. 330.

+ 'Ενθάδ-  
ε κ[ῖται]  
-----  
ΔΑCΑ Δου-  
5 σαρίου, ζή-  
σας(α) ιε', τε-  
λευ(σ)τήσ(ασα)  
ἔτους νοβ'.  
+

**Date:** 472 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 577 – 21 March AD 578.

357. *DHATRAS* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 337-38, no. 344.

[·+ 'Ενθάδε κῖτε]  
Γεώργιος Ο[ύα]-  
λεντος, ζήσα[ς]  
ἔτη ε', τελευτ(ήσας)

5 ἐν μη(νὶ) Δαισίῳ, τοῦ  
ἔτους νοβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [ι].

**Date:** Daisios 472 E.P.A., [10]th ind. = 21 May – 19 June AD 577.

358. 'AZRA stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 268, no. 280.

Ἐν + θά-  
δε κῖτ(αι) Ἀνασ-  
τασία Θεέκλης,  
ζήσ(ασα) ἔτ(η) νη',  
5 τελε(ο)υτήσ(ασα) μ(ηνός)  
Γορπ(ιαίου), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια',  
τ(οῦ) νοβ'. +

**Date:** Gorpiaios 472 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 1 – 17 September AD 577.

*Comments:* This inscription provides additional evidence against Grumel's assumption concerning the modification of the epoch of the era of provincia Arabia. See comments on inscr. C.C. no. 46.

359. EL-KERAK stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 48-49, no. 21.

+ +  
Στέ + φαν(ος)  
Βίκτορ(ος) ἐνθά-  
δε κῖτ(αι), ζήσας  
ἦτ(η) κε', τοῦ (ἔ)τ(ους)  
5 νοβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια'.  
+ + +

**Date:** 472 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 1 September AD 577 – 21 March AD 578.

360. EL-MOTE stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 295-96, no. 311.

Ἐ + ν-  
θά + δε  
κῖτε Κυ-  
ρικᾶς, ζή-  
5 σας ἔτη  
κ', ἔτους νοβ',  
<ἐ> ν μ(ηνὶ) Ἀπελλ(αίῳ)  
πρ(ώτῃ) ἡ(μέρῃ).

**Date:** 1 Apellaios 472 E.P.A. = 17 November AD 577.

*Comments:* For the abbreviation of the eighth line Canova proposed the reading πρ(ώτῃ) ἡ(μέρῃ), although she did not exclude the more probable πρ(ώτ)ῃ.

361. *EL-HEYÂT* lintel (?)

Bibl. Waddington, pp. 496-97, no. 2110; *PA* III, p. 356.

+ Φλ(αούιος) Σέος 'Ολβάνου, ἐπίτρ(οπος), (καὶ) 'Ολβανος, υἱός, ἐξ  
ιδίων ἔ-  
κτισαν τὴν πᾶσαν αὐλὴν ἀπὸ θεμελίων μέχρι ὕψους, ἐπὶ τοῦ πα- +  
3 νευφ(ήμου) 'Αλαμουνδάρου, πατρ(ικίου), ἐν ἔτι νογ' τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας),  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια'.

**Date:** 473 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 578.

362. *EL-KERAK* fragment of a tombstone

Bibl. Canova, p. 49, no. 22.

-----  
. C. CΠ  
. ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια', το[υ]  
ἔτ(ους) νογ'.

**Date:** 473 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 578.

363. *'AINUN* stele

Bibl. Canova, pp. 236-37, no. 239.

+  
+ 'Αναστά-  
σιος Θεο-  
δώρου ἐν-  
θάδε κεί-  
5 τ(αι), ζήσας  
ἔτη ιδ', τ(ῆς) ἡ-  
μ(έρας) δ', νογ'.

**Date:** 4th day of 473 E.P.A. = 25 March AD 578.

364. *MADABA* mosaic pavement

Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 137-38, no. 141.

'Επὶ τοῦ ὁσίου(τάτου) κ(αὶ) ἀγίου(τάτου) Σεργίου ἐπισκό(που),  
ἐτελειώθη ὁ ἅγιος τόπος τῶν 'Απο-  
στόλων, ἐν χρ(όνοις) ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ', ἐν ἔτη νογ'.

**Date:** 473 E.P.A., [1]2th ind. = 1 September AD 578 – 21 March AD 579.

- 365.
- ZIZIA*
- block

Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 182-83, no. 155.

+ 'Επὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Παύλου, ἐνδοξ[ο(τάτου)]  
 δουκός, σπουδῇ Πέτρου  
 τὸν τόπον [ἄ]ρχοντος, [ὕ]πὸ  
 λαμπρ(οτάτου) Χρισ[τ]ο[φ]ό[φ]ου ἀν[ε]ν(εώθη?)  
 5 [τῷ] νοε' ἔ[τ(ε)]ι, χρ(όνων) ιδ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), Δ(ίου ?) θ'.

**Date:** 9 Dios 475 E.P.A., 14th ind. = 26 October AD 580.

*Comments:* For the various readings of the last line and consequently of the dating formula included in it, see the apparatus criticus of Gatier's inscr. no. 155.

- 366.
- GARĪYE ESH-SHARKĪYE*
- block

Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Voyage*, p. 204, no. 92.

Οἰκοδομήθη ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ θεοσεβ(εστάτου) Φιλίππου  
 ἀρχιμ(ανδρίτου). 'Ετελιόθ(η)  
 μηνὶ Δύστρ(φ), ἔτο(υς) νοε'.

**Date:** Dystros 475 E.P.A. = 15 February – 16 March AD 581.

- 367.
- SHIVTA*
- upper part of a stele

Bibl. A. Jaussen, R. Savignac and H. Vincent, *RB* n.s. 2 (1905), pp. 256-57, no. 35; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 381, no. 14.

+ Κατετή-  
 θη .. XECO..  
 'Ολβίου, ἐν μηνί(νι) Ξαν-  
 θικοῦ α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ', ἔτο-  
 5 υς νοε'. 'Ο Θ(εᾶς) ἀνα-  
 παύση δ' υἱόν.

**Date:** 1 Xanthikos 476 E.P.A., 14th ind. = 22 March AD 581.

- 368.
- 'AVDAT*
- tombstone

Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 31-32, no. 18.

+ 'Ανεπάη ὁ μακά-  
 ριος Ζαχαρίας  
 'Ερασίνου, ἐν  
 μηνὶ Πανέμου  
 5 δεκάτῃ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ', ἡ-  
 μέρῃ Κυριακῇ, ὥραν  
 τρίτῃ τῆς νυκτός, κα-  
 τετέθη δὲ ἐνταῦθα  
 τῇ τρίτῃ τοῦ σάμβα-

- 10 τος, ὥραν ὀγδόην,  
 Πανέμφω δωδεκά-  
 τη, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ´, ἔτους κα-  
 τὰ Ἑλουσ(ην) υος´. Κ(ύρι)ε, {α}  
 ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυ-  
 15 χὴν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν  
 ἁγίων σου. Ἀμήν.

**Date:** 10 and 12 Panemos 476 E.P.A., 14th ind. = 29 June and 1 July AD 581.

369. *BUSÂN* block (?)  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 520, no. 2251.

[Α] <ϣ> τη ἀ(ι)ψις ἡγένητο ΩΗΑ.  
 EC διαφήρι Σοέδο Ὀβέβο(υ) τῶν  
 ΥΙΔΟ Ἀχιλανο(ϣ), ἐκ τῶν ιδίων  
 μεθυκήσας ἐν Βοσάνοις, οἰκ-  
 5 οδομέθη ἔτι υος´ τῆς ἐπ-  
 αρχίας, ἰνδικτ(ιῶνος) εἰ´.

**Date:** 477 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 582.

370. *EL-KERAK* stele  
 Bibl. Canova, p. 50, no. 23.

[+ Ἐν]θάξε κῆ-  
 ται [Θ]εοδῶρ[α]  
 Μαρτίν[ου], ζή(σασα)  
 ἔτη ε´ .. MN  
 5 [υ]οζ´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε´.

**Date:** 477 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 582.

371. *EL-KERAK* stele  
 Bibl. Canova, p. 52, no. 25.

[Α]ν + ασ-  
 τάσιος  
 Συμβούλου,  
 ζήσας ἔτη  
 5 ε´, ἐνθάδε  
 κῆτ(αι), τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υος´  
 Β

**Date:** 477 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 582 – 21 March AD 583.

*Comments:* For the uncertain letter B in the last line and its possible connection with the indiction numeral (although wrong) see Canova.

372. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 52-53, no. 26.

+  
+ Θεοδώρα  
Ἀγαπίου ἐνθάδ[ε]  
κεῖται, ζήσασα  
ἔτη γ', τ(οῦ) νοζ'.

**Date:** 477 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 582 – 21 March AD 583.

373. *SHIVTA* tombstone  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 53, no. 53.

+ Κατητήθη ὁ μακά-  
ριος Κασισέος Στεφ(άνου),  
ἐν μηνὶ Πανήμου  
δεκάτῃ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε', τοῦ  
5 ἔτους νοζ', βιώμην-  
ως κζ' μικροῦ πρὸς.  
Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἀνάπαυσον  
αὐτόν.

**Date:** 10 Panemos 477 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 29 June AD 582.

374. *ADER* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 182, no. 203.

|-----|  
|--- τέσσ?|  
αρ(ας) μ(ήνας) ἀπ[οθανών],  
τ(οῦ) νοζ', μὴν|---|,  
χρ(όνων) α' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 477 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 1 September AD 582 – 21 March AD 583.

375. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 51, no. 24.

Νόν + να  
Ἰωάννου ἐν-  
θάδε κεῖτ(αι),  
ζήσασ(α) ἔτη  
5 [.η', τοῦ ἔτ(ους) νοζ',  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)] α'.

**Date:** 477 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 1 September AD 582 – 21 March AD 583.

376. *RIHAB*

See E.P.A. no. 267b.

377. *ADER* stele

Bibl. Canova, pp. 181-82, no. 202.

Ἐνθά + δε  
κῆτε Σέργης Ζα-  
χαρίου, <ξ>ζη<σ>εν  
ἔ(τη)ς, τοῦ νοζ', μ(ηνὸς)  
5 Ὑπ(ερβερεταίου), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'.

**Date:** Hyperberetaios 477 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 18 September – 17 October AD 582.

378. *REHOVOT* stele

Bibl. N. Schmidt and B.B. Charles, *AJA* 14 (1910), p. 61, no. 1.

+ Ἀνεπάε ἡ Μαρία Ἦννης, ἐν μη(νὶ) Δίου κδ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α', ἔτους  
νοζ'. +

No division of lines indicated.

**Date:** 24 Dios 477 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 10 November AD 582.

*Comments:* The 24th of Dios is equated to the 10th and not to the 15th of November as printed in *AJA* above.

379. *EL-KUFR* block

Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 310-11, no. 672.

+ Μετὰ τὸ ἐπολέμ[η]-  
σεν Μάξιμος, προτ(έκτωρ), ἐ-  
τῶ(ν) ιγ', ὃς ἄλαθον (?) ἔκτ[η]-  
σεν, ἐν <ξ>τι νοη', α' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 478 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 583.

380. *EL-KERAK* stele

Bibl. Canova, pp. 53-54, no. 27.

+ Στήλη Ἰωά[ν]-  
νου Ἀναστασ[ί]-  
ου, ζήσαν[τος]  
ἔτη β', τοῦ ἔ[τους]  
5 νοη'.

**Date:** 478 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 583 – 21 March AD 584.

381. *MEDJEL ESH-SHÔR* capital  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, p. 659, no. 49; *PA* III, p. 357.

AZIO., ἔτ(ους) νοη΄.

**Date:** 478 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 583 – 21 March AD 584.

382. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* slab  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 144, no. 24.

[+ 'Ετε]λεύτεσεγ  
[ό μ]ακάριος  
[Στέ]φαν(ος) Οὐάέλ(ου)  
ἐγ μῆ(νι) Ξαγθ|(ικοῦ)..., ἐν]-  
5 δ(ικτιῶνος) β΄, τοῦ ἔτους νοη΄.

**Date:** Xanthikos 47 <9> E.P.A., 2nd ind. = 22 March – 20 April AD 584.

*Comments:* There is a discordance among the dating elements of the inscription, since the month Xanthikos, 2nd indiction year, does not fall in the 478th, but in the 479th year of provincia Arabia. Kirk's and Welles' assumption that "Xanthikos was the first month of the city's era, and the stone cutter failed to make the necessary change in the numeral of the year from 478 to 479" offers a reasonable solution to the problem. Thus, Xanthikos 47 <9> E.P.A., 2nd ind. = 22 March – 20 April AD 584. Another alternative for the dating elements to be in harmony is to accept the 1st September AD 106 as epoch of the era of provincia Arabia.

383. *'AINUN* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 237-38, no. 240.

'Ενθά-  
δε + κῆτε  
'Αν + ασ-  
τασία Γε-  
5 οργίου,  
ζήσασα  
ἐτη α΄,  
νοθ΄.

**Date:** 479 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 584 – 21 March AD 585.

384. *SUL* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 314, no. 331.

-----  
ΟΥΙϞΟ ---  
ἐνθά[δε]



κῑτε, ἡτ[ους]  
υπ'(?).

**Date:** 480 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 585 – 21 March AD 586.

*Comments:* The reading of the second letter of the year numeral, as Canova noted, is quite uncertain and the existence of a third numerical letter cannot be excluded.

385. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* chalk  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 154, no. 45.

† Ἁγίε Σέργι(ε), βοήθι-  
σθον τοῦ [δοῦ]λου σου  
Θεοδώρου ΠΑΡ  
Ε.Θ..Ν αὐτοῦ,  
5 ἔτ(ους) υπα' Ι.

**Date:** 481 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 586 – 21 March AD 587.

*Comments:* According to Kirk and Welles “possibly lines 3 and 4 may have contained the beginning of the date: Παν/έμ(ου) θκ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ', τοῦ. This would correspond to July 18, AD 586”. However, this assumption seems very conjectural.

386. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 296-97, no. 312.

Μνημῖον Ο-  
υά[λ]εντος Δ-  
ουσαρίου, ζήσ-  
ας ἔτη κε', τε-  
5 {τ}λευτήσας  
τοῦ ἔτου <ς> υπβ', μ[(ηνός)]  
[...ca.9...].

**Date:** 482 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 587 – 21 March AD 588.

387. *UMMER-RASAS* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *LA* 37 (1987), pp. 204-206, no. 47; *SEG* 37 (1987), pp. 490-91, no. 1596.

Ἐν τοῖς  
ἀγαθοῖς χρόνοις  
τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν,  
τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου κ(αί) μακαριω(τάτου)  
5 Σεργίου ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου,  
ἐψηφώθη τὸ πᾶν ἔργον  
τῆς ἀγιωτ(άτης) ἐκκλησίας,  
σπουδῇ κ(αί) ἐπιμελῆ  
Προκοπίου, πρεσβ(υτέρου),

10 μὴνι Γορπιαίου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
 ζ' κ(αὶ) ἐν ἔτους τῆς ἐ-  
 παρχ(ίας) 'Αραβ(ίας) υπβ'.

**Date:** Gorpaios 482 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 1 – 17 September AD 587.

*Comments:* This is one more inscription against Grumel's theory (see comments on inscr. C.C. no. 46).

388. *FENAN* block  
 Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), pp. 52-53, no. 339.

+ 'Επὲ τοῦ ὁσιωτ(άτου) ἐ-  
 πισκ(όπου) Θεοδόρου  
 ἐγένετω τῷ ἔργω(ν),  
 ἔ(τους) υπβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ' (or ε'). +

**Date:** 482 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 1 September AD 587 – 21 March AD 588 or  
 482 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 587.

389. *REPHIDIM* (area of) block  
 Bibl. Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions*, p. 24, no. 16; *SEG* 36 (1986), p. 407,  
 no. 1327.

+ 'Ετελεῦτ(ησεν)  
 ὦ μ(ακάριος) Στέφ(ανος)  
 Θωάμου,  
 ἔ(τους) υπγ'.

**Date:** 483 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 588 – 21 March AD 589.

390. *REHOVOT* stele  
 Bibl. A. Jaussen, R. Savignac and H. Vincent, *RB* n.s. 2 (1905), p. 256, no. 22.

+ 'Ανα[πάη ὁ μα]-  
 κάρ(ιος) Βίκτωρ, [τῇ]  
 ἡ' Ξανθι[κοῦ ..],  
 ἔ(τους) υπγ'.

**Date:** 8 Xanthikos 483 E.P.A. = 29 March AD 588.

391. *REHOVOT* stele  
 Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 29 (1920), p. 121, no. 12.

+ 'Αναπάε ἡ μακαρ(ί)-  
 α Ζονέν(η), μη(νός) 'Αρτε-  
 μεσίου κε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ',  
 ἔ(τους) υπγ'.

**Date:** 25 Artemisios 483 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 15 May AD 588.

392. *SHIVTA* stele (?)  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 54, no. 55.

+ Κατετέθη ὁ μα-  
κάριος Κασισέος  
[Ἀβ]δάλγου, μηνὶ  
Πανέμου ιδ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
5 ζ', ἔτους υπγ'.

**Date:** 14 Panemos 483 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 3 July AD 588.

393. *AUJA HAFIR* (Nessana) slab  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 168, no. 79.

ΟΥΑ  
[Κα]τητήθη ὁ μακάριος, εὐλ-  
[αβ]ῆς) Στέ[φα]νος) Ἀβρ(ααμίου) τοῦ Πέτρ(ου),  
[ἐν μην(ὶ)] Πα(νήμου) α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ', ἔτ(ους) υπδ'.

**Date:** 1 Panemos 484 E.P.A., 7th ind. = 20 June AD 589.

394. *'AVDAT* tombstone  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 43-44, no. 45; *SEG* 28 (1978), pp. 391-92, no. 1397.

+ Ἀνεπάη ὁ μακάριος) Πορφύ-  
ρις, ἐν μην(ὶ) Πανέμ(ου) α', ἔτους υπδ',  
ὁμοίος ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἀν-  
επάη, ἐν μην(ὶ) [Ἀρ]τημησίου, ἔ-  
5 τους υπε' (καὶ) ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐ-  
τοῦ παρθένος Μαΐουμ-  
ᾱ κατετήθη σημεῖον του  
-----

**Date:** a) 1 Panemos 484 E.P.A. = 20 June AD 589.

b) Artemisios 485 E.P.A. = 21 April – 20 May AD 590.

*Comments:* Negev read at the end of line 4 "[Ἀρ]τημησίου ε'" which makes the date 25 April AD 590 and not 27 April as printed in the above mentioned publication.

395. *MAHAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 359-60, no. 360.

+ Ἐ[νθάδε]  
κίτε [Μα]-  
ρία Θε[ο]-  
δώρο[υ], ζή[-  
5 σασ(α) ἡτη [..],  
τοῦ ἡτ[ους]  
υπε', ἐν[δ(ικτιῶνος)] . ] .

**Date:** 485 E.P.A., [8]th or [9]th ind. = 22 March AD 590 – 21 March AD 591.

## 396. 'AVDAT

See E.P.A. no. 394b.

## 397. BEERSHEBA block

Bibl. N. Schmidt and B.B. Charles, *AJA* 14 (1910), p. 65, no. 2.

Βοήθε [Στεφά]-  
 νου Κύριε, [μ(νη) Δαι]-  
 σίου κα', ἰν(δικτιῶνος) η',  
 υπε'.

Date: 21 Daisios 485 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 10 June AD 590.

## 398. DJĠZE lintel

Bibl. R. Savignac and F.M. Abel, *RB* n.s. 2 (1905), pp. 598-99, no. 6; *PA* III, p. 357.

+ Ναοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος Σεργίου  
 καὶ οἰκοδομήθησαν οἱ ἐμβολοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Η ...,  
 καὶ ὑπέρθη τὸ ὑπέρθυρον, μη(νὶ) Λφου ε', χρ(όνων) <η'> ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος),  
 ἔτους υπε'. Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εό)ς, τελίωσον τὸν ναὸν Σου. Ἀμή[ν].

Date: 5 Loos 485 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 24 July AD 590.

Comments: The reading “χρ(όνων) <η'> ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)” in the third line was given by Brünnow and Domaszewski in *PA*, while the editors of the inscription, Savignac and Abel suggested the reading “Χρ(ιστοῦ) μ(αρτ)υρ(οῦντος)”.

## 399. AUJA HAFIR (Nessana) slab with two texts

Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 140, no. 12.

## ΟΥΑΣΓ

a) + Κατ(ετ)ήθη ὁ μακάριος Σέργιος  
 Πατρικίου, πρεσβ(ύτερου) κ(αὶ) ἡγουμέ-  
 νου, μενὶ Περιτί(ο) κς',  
 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι', ἔτους υπς'.

## ΑΣΣΟΥ

b) + Κατ(ετ)ήθη ὁ μακάριος  
 Πατρικίου Σεργίου, πρεσβ(ύτερος)  
 κ(αὶ) ἡγούμενος, τῇ μενὸς  
 Λφου ε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α', ἔτ(ους) φκγ'.

Date: a) 26 Peritios 486 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 10 February AD 592.

b) 5 Loos 523 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 24 July AD 628.

400. *AUJA HAFIR* (*Nessana*) block  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 183, no. 118.

Ἐτελ(εύτησεν) ὁ μακά-  
ριος Ἰάλετος  
Ἀβραμ(ίου), ἐτὸν κη',  
ἐν μηνὶ Περιτ(ίου) κς',  
5 ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ι', ἔτους  
υπς'.

**Date:** 26 Peritios 486 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 10 February AD 592.

401. *ELUSA* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. A. Jaussen, R. Savignac and H. Vincent, *RB* n.s. 2 (1905), p. 255, no. 16.

υπς'.  
+ Ἀνεπά-  
{α}ε μακα-  
ρία Μαρ(ία),  
5 καὶ Ḳ . .  
AN ....  
ΠΕΡΠ ..  
ΚΕQE ..

**Date:** 487 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 592 – 21 March AD 593.

402. *GHAŠM* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 278-79, no. 619.

+ Μεμώριον διαφέρων τοῖς  
ἀγίο(ι)ς μάρτ <υ> (ρ)σι Σεργίου  
καὶ Βάχχου, γενόμεν(ον) τῷ ἔτ(ει) υπη'. +

**Date:** 488 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 593 – 21 March AD 594.

403. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 360-61, no. 361.

Ἐνθάδε κῆτ(αι)  
Σ[έργ?]|ιος Ὀβό-  
δ[ου? ...<sup>ca.7</sup>...]  
[...<sup>ca.10</sup>...]  
5 ἐν μην[ὶ Ξαν]-  
θικῷ κ', τοῦ [ἔτ(ους)]  
υπη', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [ια?].  
+ + +

**Date:** 20 Xanthikos 488 E.P.A., [11]th ind. = 10 April AD 593.

*Comments:* The reading of the year numeral, according to Canova is dubious. But if it is really 488 E.P.A., then 20 Xanthikos of this year falls in the eleventh indiction year.

404. *RIHAB* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Piccirillo, *Chiese*, pp. 71-72, no. B.

Προνοία Θεοῦ ἐθεμ[ελιώ]θη κ(αὶ) ἐτελιώθη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου)  
μάρτυρ(ος) τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) Βασιλίου, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου κ(αὶ) ὁσιωτάτου  
Πολυεύκτου ἀρχι-  
επισκό(που), [ἐξ ἐπιμ]ελ(είας) Ζωῆς διακο(νίσσης) καὶ Στεφάνου κ(αὶ)  
Γεωργίου κ(αὶ) Βάσσου κ(αὶ) Θεοδώ-  
ρου κ(αὶ) Βαδ[α]γίου, ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσ(εως) Προκοπίου κ(αὶ) γωνέων.  
Ἐγράφη τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υπθ', χρό(νων) ιβ' ἐν(δικτιῶνος).

**Date:** 489 E.P.A., 12th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 594.

405. *MAHAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 361, no. 362.

-----  
..... με(νὶ) ΠΙ-  
αν(ήμου) ιβ', τ(οῦ) ἔ-  
τ(ους) υπθ', ἐν(δικτιῶνος) ιβ'.

**Date:** 12 Panemos 489 E.P.A., 12th ind. = 1 July AD 594.

*Comments:* Canova suggested that the month name could also be restored as [Ξ]/αν-(θικοῦ). In that case the date would be: 12 Xanthikos 489 E.P.A., 12th ind. = 2 April AD 594.

406. *EL-MOTE* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 297, no. 313.

-----  
[ζ]ήσ(ας) ἔτ(η) ε',  
τελευτ(ήσας) μ(ηνὸς)  
Αὐδον(αίου),  
τοῦ ἔτ(ους)  
υπθ'.

**Date:** Audynaiois 489 E.P.A. = 17 December AD 594 – 15 January AD 595.

407. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 297-98, no. 314.

-----  
CICKETE .....  
ΔΟ . ἀπέπα[ντοι 'Ανασ]-  
τάσιος (καὶ) 'Αβρααμ-  
[α][ς], τελε(ευτήσαντες) ἐν μη(νὶ) Πε-  
[ρ(ιτίου)] κθ', τ(οῦ) υ(πθ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [ιγ].

**Date:** 29 Peritios 489 E.P.A., [13]th ind. = 13 February AD 595.

408. *SHIVTA* tombstone  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 48-50, no. 48.

+ Ἐνθάδε κατετή-  
θη ὁ μακ(άριος) Λεόντιος(ς)  
Θέμου, ἀναγν(ώστης),  
μηνὶ Ξανθικοῦ  
5 α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ', τοῦ ἔτ(ους)  
υλ'.

**Date:** 1 Xanthikos 490 E.P.A., 13th ind. = 22 March AD 595.

409. *MADABA* mosaic pavement inscription in four medallions  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie 2*, pp. 144-46, no. 147.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a) Χ(ριστὸς<br>ὁ Θ(εὸς) τὸν οἶ-<br>κον τοῦτον<br>ἀνήγει-<br>ρεν,                    | b) ἐπὶ<br>Σερ + γίου<br>τοῦ ὀσιω(τάτου)<br>ἐπισκό-<br>που, |
| c) σπου-<br>δῇ Σεργίου,<br>πρ(εσβυτέρου) τοῦ ἁγίου Αἰλι-<br>ανοῦ, ἐν τῷ υλ'<br>ἔτει | d) [ἐ]ψη-<br>[φώθ]η ἐκ<br>[προσφ]ορᾶς<br>[---]<br>[---]    |

**Date:** 490 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 595 – 21 March AD 596.

410. *EL-GHÂRIYE* block  
Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, pp. 672-73, no. 90; *PA III*, p. 357.

Εὐτυχός.  
Ἰώβ(ιος) ΙΩΕΩΝΙ

ΚΟΟ. ἐπι

εἴκτις(εν?) <ἐ> ν ἔτι υλ'.

**Date:** 490 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 595 – 21 March AD 596.

*Comments:* Brunnnow and Domaszewski noted that Dussaud read the year numeral as υρ'. It is, however, impossible to have two hundreds in a row.

411. *RIHAB* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 30 (1980), p. 488, no. 1711.

+ 'Επὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) κ(αὶ) μακαριω(τάτου) Πολυεύκτου, ἀρχιεπισκό-  
που,  
(καὶ) Βάσσου, εὐλαβ(εστάτου) παραμοναρ(ίου), ἐψηφόθη κ(αὶ) ἐτελιώθη  
οὗτος ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου, ἐκ προσφορᾶς Ἰωάννου  
<καὶ> 'Ηλίου τῶν Μαρτυρίου, ἐν μη(νὶ) Ἰουνίου, χρ(όνων) ιγ' ἰνδ(ικ -  
τιῶνος), ἔτους υλ' τῆς ἐπαρχίας.

**Date:** June 490 E.P.A., 13th ind. = June AD 595.

412. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 54-55, no. 29.

ÇQ .. [ἀνά]-  
παυσο[ν]  
γόννηγ [ψυ]-  
χὴν τῆς  
5 δούλης σου  
Θεοδώρας  
Σεργίου, ζη-  
σάσ(ης) ἔτη  
ζ', τ(οῦ) υλ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
10 [ι]δ'.

**Date:** 490 E.P.A., [1]4th ind. = 1 September AD 595 – 21 March AD 596.

413. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 361-62, no. 363.

[+ 'Ενθ]άδε  
[κ]εῖτ(αι) Νόνν[α?]  
Λουκίου, ζή-  
σ(ασα) ἔτη ο',  
5 τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υλ',  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ' +

**Date:** 490 E.P.A., 14th ind. = 1 September AD 595 – 21 March AD 596.



414. *'AINUN* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 238-39, no. 241.

+ 'Ενθάδε κῆ-  
τ(αι) 'Ιουλιανὸς  
'Ιωάννου, ζή-  
σας ἔτη 4', τοῦ ἔτ(ους)  
5 υλ'α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ'.

**Date:** 491 E.P.A., 14th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 596.

*Comments:* According to Canova the year numeral is υλδ' (494 E.P.A.) and the indiction year is δ'. If this is correct, then there must be a mistake in the indiction year, probably made by the engraver of the inscription, for year 494 E.P.A. does not fall in the fourth, but in the second-third indictions. This mistake cannot be emended, even if we take 1 September AD 106 as epoch of the era of provincia Arabia. A solution to the problem could be offered by a different reading of the dating elements. Based on the rendering of the various letters in the epigraphical text, it seems that the units figure of the year numeral is A and that of the indiction year Δ. Part of 491 E.P.A. coincided with part of the fourteenth indiction. The tens figure of the latter, I, could be sought in the weathered part preceding the letter Δ of the indiction numeral.

415. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 55-56, no. 30.

+ 'Ενθάδε  
κεῖται  
Μαρθόνη,  
ζήσασα  
5 ἔτη τέσ-  
σαρες, τοῦ ἔτ(ους)  
υλ'α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ'.

**Date:** 491 E.P.A., 14th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 596.

416. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 60-61, no. 36.

a) 'Ι(ησοῦ)ς + Χ(ριστός).  
'Ενθάδε κεῖ-  
ται Σελανά-  
της Κυριακοῦ,  
5 ζήσας ἔτη ι',  
τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υ[...],  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ'.

**Date:** 400 – 4[91] E.P.A., 14th ind. = 1 September AD 505 – 31 August AD 506 until 1 September AD 595 – 31 August AD 596.

*Comments:* From the date only the hundreds of the year numeral as well as the in-

diction year are preserved. As Canova rightly pointed out, in the fifth century E.P.A. the fourteenth indiction occurred for the first time in the period between 1 September 400 E.P.A. and 31 August 401 E.P.A. and for the last time in the period between 1 September 490 E.P.A. and 31 August 491 E.P.A. Thus, the date of the inscription should be placed between AD 505-506 and AD 595-596. However, if the year numeral included till three figures, this information linked with the fourteenth indiction would also place the text in one of the following periods: 1 September AD 520 – 31 August AD 521, 1 September AD 535 – 31 August AD 536, 1 September AD 550 – 31 August AD 551, 1 September AD 565 – 31 August AD 566 and 1 September AD 580 – 31 August AD 581.

417. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 56-57, no. 31.

[Ἐν]θάδι κ[ῖτ(αι)]  
[Θε]όδωρος],  
[ζή]σας ἔτ[η]  
. γ', το(ῶ) υλ'α', [ινδ(ικτιῶνος) ?]  
5 ιε'.

**Date:** 491 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 1 September AD 596 – 21 March AD 597.

418. *MEGREH* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 411-12, no. 423.

+ Ἀναστα-  
σία Γεοργ-  
ίου, ζήσασα  
ἔτη ιε', το(ῶ) (ἔ)το(υς)  
5 υλ'α', ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε',  
+ ἦν μ(ηνὶ) Δίο.

**Date:** Dios 491 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 18 October – 16 November AD 596.

419. *SHIVTA* block  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 48, no. 47.

+ Ἐνθάδε κατε[τέθ] <η> ὁ  
μακ[άρ]ιος Ῥωμαν[ὸς]  
Ἰωάννου, μ(ηνὶ) Αὐθ(υναίου)  
κδ', ἱνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε', ἔτους υλ'α'. +  
+ +

**Date:** 24 Audynaios 491 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 9 January AD 597.

420. *RAS-SIYAGHA* mosaic pavement inscription in two medallions  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 93-94, no. 80.

<p>a) [Σὺ]ν βοη- [θείῃ] τοῦ Κ(υρίου) υἱ ἡμ- [ῶν] Ἰ(ησοῦ) υἱ Χ(ριστοῦ) ὃ ἐτελει- ώθη τὸ ἔργον τοῦ 5 ἁγίου ναοῦ σὺν τῷ φωτιστη- + ρίῳ, +</p>	<p>b) ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιωτ(άτου) Σεργίου ἐπισκ(όπου) καὶ Μαρτυ- ρίου θεοφιλ(εστάτου) πρεσ- β(υτέρου) καὶ ἡγουμέ(νου), ἐπὶ τῆς ιε' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), ἔτους υἷβ'.</p>
--	---

Date: 492 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 597.

421. *MAHAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 362-63, no. 364.

.....  
ζ(ήσας) ἔτ(η) κη', [τε]λ(ευτήσας)  
μη(νι) Αὐδ(υναίου), τ(οῦ) υἷβ',  
ἰν(δικτιῶνος) α'.

Date: Audynaioi 492 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 17 December AD 597 – 15 January AD 598.

422. *MAHAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 363-64, no. 365.

+ Ἐνθάδε κῆ-  
τε Οὐάλης Ἰ-  
ούμου, ζήσ(ας)  
ἔτ(η) κε', τελε-  
5 υτ(ήσας) ἐν μη(νι) Περι-  
τ(ίου), τοῦ ἔτους  
υἷβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
πρώτ(ης). +

Date: Peritios 492 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 16 January – 14 February AD 598.

423. *EL-KERAK* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 57, no. 32.

[.....]  
[... ζήσα]-  
ς ἔτ(η) ξ.,  
τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υἷγ'.

Date: 493 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 598 – 21 March AD 599.

424. *MA'IN* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *LA* 35 (1985), p. 350; Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, p. 189, no. 163.

[ -- ἐ]γένετο ὡ ξενεῶ[ν οὗτος] ἐν ἔτι υλγ' π[ --- ].

**Date:** 493 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 598 – 21 March AD 599.

*Comments:* Piccirillo does not restore the units figure in the year numeral, while Gatier reads it as a γ'. Gatier also restores the last word as "π[ρώτη]" and combines it with the indiction year.

425. *MA'AIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 364, no. 366.

+ 'Εν[θάδε] κῆτ(αι)  
'Ροῦμος Οὐ-  
άλεντος, ζή-  
σ(ας) ἔτη ιδ', τε-  
5 λευτήσ(ας) ἐν  
μη(νι) 'Αρτημισ(ίου),  
τοῦ ἔτους υλγ',  
ινδ(ικτιῶνος) πρώτ(ης).

**Date:** Artemisios 493 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 21 April – 20 May AD 598.

426. *MA'AIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 365, no. 367.

[. . . . .]  
...Α Κυρι-  
ακ[οῦ], ζή-  
σ(ασα) ἔτ[ι](η) κ', τε-  
λ(ευτήσασα) ἐν μ(ηνι) Περ(ιτίου),  
ινδ(ικτιῶνος) β', τ(οῦ) [ἐ]τ(ους)  
υλγ'. +

**Date:** Peritios 493 E.P.A., 2nd ind. = 16 January – 14 February AD 599.

## 7th century AD

427. *ELUSA* stele  
Bibl. A. Jaussen, R. Savignac and H. Vincent, *RB* n.s. 2 (1905), pp. 253-55,  
no. 14.

+ 'Ανεπάη ἡ μα-  
καρία 'Ανασ-  
τασία, ἐπαγο-

μένων δ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ',  
5 ἔτους υλδ'.

**Date:** 4th epagomenal day 494 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 20 March AD 600.

428. *GARĪYE EL-GARBĪYE* lintel  
Bibl. *PA* III, p. 358.

(inscription flanking a circle)  
+ 'Ο ἅγιος Μι- ἐκτίσθη  
καὶ (καὶ) Γαβ- ἐν ἔτους υλξ'.  
ριήλ +

**Date:** 495 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 600 – 21 March AD 601.

429. *REHOVOT* stele (?)  
Bibl. N. Schmidt and B.B. Charles, *AJA* 14 (1910), p. 62, no. 4.

+ 'Αναπάε ὁ μακάριος Στέφ(ανος) Φελουμήνη +  
μη(νι) καλανδὸν κθ', ἔτους υλξ'.

No division of lines indicated.

**Date:** 29 Kalends (= Xanthikos?) 495 E.P.A. = 19 April (?) AD 600.

*Comments:* For the term “Kalends” see chapter 9 on the Era of Provincia Arabia, p. 159.

430. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 365-66, no. 368.

+ 'Ενθάδε  
κίτ(αι) Βαρίχ-  
ας Σωζομ-  
ένου, ζ(ήσας) ἔτη  
5 ιη', τελεστήσας) μη(νι)  
Δαισ(ίου) ιδ',  
τ(οῦ) υλξ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'.

**Date:** 14 Daisios 495 E.P.A., <3>rd ind. = 3 June AD 600.

*Comments:* 14 Daisios 495 E.P.A. falls not in the fourth, but in the third indiction year. The discordance between the era year + month and the indiction could be explained by the lapse between the day of the death and that in which the tombstone was set up. In any case, the stone should have been placed sometime between 1 September AD 600 and 21 March AD 601. Thus the engraver, working in the fourth indiction of 495 E.P.A., recorded on the stone the current indiction and not the one

in which the death occurred. It should be noted, though, that if one reckons with the epoch of 1 September AD 106, all the chronological data are in harmony. For analogous examples see inscr. nos. 324, 469, 477, 498, 499, 501, 515, 520, 524, C.C. 46.

431. *MAHAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 366-67, no. 369.

+ Γεωργί-  
α, δούλ(η)  
τ(οῦ) ἀγίου Γε-  
ωργ(ίου), ἐτῶ(ν)  
5 ιη', μη(νὶ) Δ(αι)-  
σ(ίου) κδ', ἐν-  
δ(ικτιῶνος) γ', υλξ'.

Date: 24 Daisios 495 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 13 June AD 600.

432. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 58, no. 33.

+ Ἐνθάδε κη-  
ται Ἡ[ωά]ννης  
Γεωργίου, ζή-  
σας ἔτη δ', το-  
5 ὕ(ετ(ους) υλξ', ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ'.

Date: 495 E.P.A., 4th ind. = 1 September AD 600 – 21 March AD 601.

433. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 59, no. 34.

+  
Στήλη Νόννης  
Θεοδώρου,  
ζήσασα ἔτη  
ς', τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υλξ',  
5 [ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος)] δ'.

Date: 495 E.P.A., 4th ind. = 1 September AD 600 – 21 March AD 601.

434. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* fragment of an abacus  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 141, no. 17.

[Ἵπὲρ σωτηρίας [...]]  
[.... Οὐάλεν]τος, ἔτ(ους) υλξ'.

Date: 496 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 601 – 21 March AD 602.

435. *AUJA HAFIR* (Nessana) abacus  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 172-73, no. 92.

+ Ἀγ[ι]α Μαρία Θεωτώκε,  
[βοήθησον καί] ἐλήεσων τῷ δού(λω)  
[.....<sup>ca.10</sup>...]Ω.CI., [ἐτ]ους υλζς´.

Date: 496 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 601 – 21 March AD 602.

436. *EZRA* lintel  
Bibl. M. Dunand, *AO* 18 (1950), p. 163, no. 369.

+ Ἐξ ἰδίων δῶρον Ἰωάννης ΓΟΕΝΑ[ -- ]  
ἐθημελίωσεν + (καί) ἐτελίωσεν τοῦ -  
τον τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀγ[ι]ας Σοφίας, ὑπὲρ σωτηρ(ίας)  
ζόντων (καί) ἀναπαύσεως γονέων αὐτοῦ.  
5 Ἐν ἔτ(ει) υλζς´.

Date: 496 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 601 – 21 March AD 602.

437. *EL-KERAK* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 60, no. 35.

-----  
[.....<sup>ca.6</sup> ζή]-  
σας ἔτη [·], [τ(οῦ)]  
ἔτ(ους) υλζς´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) [·].

Date: 496 E.P.A., [4]th or [5]th ind. = 22 March AD 601 – 21 March AD 602.

438. *SALCHAD* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 475, no. 1996; *PA* III, p. 358.

+ Σαβίνος καὶ  
Θεότιμος, τέ-  
κνα Ζάγου, ἔκ-  
τισαν τὸν αὐ-  
5 τόν, ἐν ἔτ(ει) υλζς´.

Date: 496 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 601 – 21 March AD 602.

439. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 368, no. 371.

+ Μηνᾶς, δ[ι]οῦ]-  
λ(ος) τ(οῦ) ἀγ(ίου) Γεωρ-  
γ(ίου), ἐτῶν κ´, μη(νι)

Δαισ(ίου) κδ´,  
 5 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ´, τοῦ  
 (ἔτους) υλζ´.

**Date:** 24 Daisios 496 E.P.A., 4th ind. = 13 June AD 601.

440. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* mosaic pavement  
 Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 173-74, no. 94.

1 Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν καρποφορησάντων Σεργίου ἀπὸ συμπόνου κ(αὶ)  
 μοναχοῦ κ(αὶ) Παλλοῦτος  
 2 ἀδελφ(ῆς) κ(αὶ) Ἰωάννου διακ(όνου), αὐτῆς υἱοῦ, πρωτεύοντ(ος) μητροπ-  
 (όλεως) Ἐμμίσ(ης), (ἔτους) υλζ´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε´,  
 μη(νὶ) Γορπ(ιαίου) κ´.

**Date:** 20 Gorpiaios 496 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 7 September AD 601.

*Comments:* This inscription offers additional proof that the epoch of the era remained stable at least up to the beginning of the seventh century AD (see comments on inscr. C.C. no. 46).

441. *MAHAIY* stele  
 Bibl. Canova, p. 369, no. 372.

+ Ἐνθάδ(ε)  
 κῆτε Μι-  
 τερίας  
 <Δ>ουσαρί(ου),  
 5 μ(ηνὶ) Περι-  
 τ(ίου), ἰ(νδικτιῶνος) ε´, τοῦ  
 (ἔτους) υλζ´.

**Date:** Peritios 496 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 16 January – 14 February AD 602.

442. *MEKAWER* mosaic pavement  
 Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie 2*, pp. 195-96, no. 177.

[- - - ἐψ]ιφόθη  
 [- - -] Σηλουανοῦ ΠΑ  
 [- - - ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)] ζ´, ἐν ἔτους υλζ´,  
 [- - - πρ]οσφαιρόντ(ων) (καὶ) ΜΑ  
 5 [- - -] ΔΕΝΟΥ (καὶ) Σεργ(ίου) (καὶ) Θεοδόρου.

**Date:** 497 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 1 September AD 602 – 21 March AD 603.



443. *MADABA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 136-37, no. 140.

Ὅρων  
Λεοντίου τοῦ ἱερέως  
τὸ πρᾶον, θαύμαζε τῶν  
κτισμάτων κ(αὶ) τῶν πόνων τὴν  
5 ἀρετὴν, διὸ κ(αὶ) τῷ δὴ τῷ τόπῳ τὴν  
περικαλλῇ τέθεικεν  
εὐκοσμίαν· ἐν ἔτει  
υἷη', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ς'.

Date: 498 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 603.

444. *MAHAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 369-70, no. 373.

[ . . . . .<sup>ca.8</sup> ]  
μηγῖ [ . . . ],  
τοῦ (ἔτους) υἷη' . +

Date: 498 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 603 – 21 March AD 604.

445. *RIHAB* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Piccirillo, *Chiese*, pp. 69-70, no. B.

+ Ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας (καὶ) ὁμοουσ(ίου) Τριάδος, ἐπ[ι] τοῦ ἁγιωτ(ά)-  
(του) Πολυεύκτου,  
ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκό(που) (καὶ) μητροπο(λίτου), ἐθεμελιώθ(η) ὁ ναὸς οὗτος  
τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας (καὶ) ἐτε-  
λιώθ(η) (καὶ) ἐνηφώθ(η), ἐκ προσφορ(ᾶς) Ἰωάννου θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) δια-  
κό(νου) (καὶ) Σεργίου (καὶ) Πρόκλου,  
υἱῶν Ῥισῶνος, ἐν ἔτει υἷη', μην(ι) Φεβρου(αρίου), χρ(όνων) ὀγδόης  
ἰνδικτιόνος. +

Date: February 499 E.P.A., 8th ind. = February AD 605.

446. *MAHAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 370-71, no. 374.

+ Ἐνθάδε  
κῆτ(αι) Ἀββα-  
ς Ο [.....]  
Γαβάρου,  
5 ζήσ(ας) ἔτ(η) β',  
τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υ[...].

Date: 400 – 4[99] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 505 – 21 March AD 605.

447. *MELAH EŞ-ŞARRÂR* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 329, no. 712.

[T]οῦτο Ἰτης <κ> ἐ Ἄσ-  
των Κα <σ> ιαν-  
οῦ ἔκτεσαν τ-  
ὸ μνημῖον· ὑπ-  
5 ὁ Κοσο <τ> ἰ[ου] ε(ῖ)ρ[γα]-  
[σ]τε. Ἐτους υ[.].

**Date:** 400 – 4[99] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 505 – 21 March AD 605.

448. *ETH-THANIYYEH* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 259-60, no. 271.

-----  
ΟΥ, ζήσας ἔτ[η]  
η', τοῦ ἔτους υ  
[...]+ ΟΥ.

**Date:** 400 – 4[99] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 505 – 21 March AD 605.

449. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 62, no. 38.

+ Ἐ[νθ]α  
[κῖ]τ(αι) [Ἴ]ω-  
άνα Ζή-  
νου, οε', ἔ[τ(ους)]  
5 φ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η' +

**Date:** 500 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 605.

450. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* slab  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 165-66, no. 72.

+ Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Φλ(αουῖου) Σεργ(ίου)  
Βίκτωρος οἰκοδόμου  
κ(αι) Βίκτορος αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ  
Ἀβρααμίου Ἀβουζοναίνου,  
5 αὐτοῦ μισθ(ωτοῦ). Ἐγήνετο τοῦ-  
τω τὸ ἔργον [ἐν μη(νὶ) Ὑπερβηρ(εταίου) α'],  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η', τοῦ ἔτους [τῆς πόλεως] φ'.

**Date:** 1 Hyperberetaios 500 E.P.A., <9>th ind. = 18 September AD 605.

*Comments:* If the year numeral is certainly φ' (for other suggestions see comments on inscription no. 72 in *Nessana I*), then there is a discordance between the rest of the

dating elements and the indiction which should be ninth instead of eighth. As Kirk and Welles already suggested, this mistake must be ascribed to the mason who “probably did not notice that a new indiction had begun 17 days before the date of the inscription”. For analogous examples see inscr. nos. 238, 458, 489.

451. *AUJA HAFIR* (*Nessana*) slab  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 140, no. 13.

+ Ἀναπάει ὁ μακάριος Στέφανος  
Ὁβάθου, ἐ(ν) μην(ι) Δίου ε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ',  
ἔτους φ'. +

**Date:** 5 Dios 500 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 22 October AD 605.

452. *RUĠM ŠAKHARI* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 328, no. 340.

[...<sup>ca.7</sup>...]  
[... ] ἔτους  
φα', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'.

**Date:** 501 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 606.

453. *MELAH EŠ-ŠARRĀR* block  
Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 156, no. 1197.

+ Βερρωκῶνης Ὁζ-  
έου, πρ(εσβυτέρου) ἐνκλίστου,  
ἔκτισεν τῷ μην-  
μίον τοῦτ(ο), ἔτ(ους) φα'.

**Date:** 501 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 606 – 21 March AD 607.

454. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 298-300, no. 315.

Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς. ΑΩ.  
Ἐνθά-  
δε κ(εῖται) Μεγεθία Ἰω-  
άννου Ἡλίου, ζήσ(ασα) ἔτ(η) δ',  
5 τελ(ευτήσασα) ἐν μ(ηνι) Δίῳ κ', ἔτους  
φα', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι'. +  
Χ(ριστ)έ, ἀνάπαυσ(ον). Ἀμήν.

**Date:** 20 Dios 501 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 6 November AD 606.

455. *KHIRBETES-SAMRAH* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Unpublished. Communicated by J.-B. Humbert (photo).

Ἐ(ν) μη(νι) Ἀρτεμεσ(ίου), χρόνον ι' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), (ἐ)τους φ-  
β] τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Κ(ύρι)ε ἡλέϊσον (καὶ) φύλαξων  
τὸ χορίων τούτω ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἥως μη-  
γάλο(ν), ἀπὸ τῶ νῦν (καὶ) ὥς τοῦ ἡῶνος.

**Date:** Artemisios 50[2] E.P.A., 10th ind. = 21 April – 20 May AD 607.

*Comments:* The restoration of the rest of the year numeral in the beginning of the second line is based mainly on two assumptions: a) there is space for only one letter missing in this line. This letter could be a tens or a units numeral, but the first possibility is excluded by the fact that all the tens numerals which follow φ' (like φι', φκ', φλ' etc.) fall in indiction years other than the tenth one, and b) if a units figure is actually needed for the restoration of the year numeral, then this is essentially the letter B, for only year 502 E.P.A. complies perfectly with the month Artemisios and the tenth indiction year.

456. *MADABA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 141-43, no. 145.

Ὁ πάσης ἀνθρωπείνης φύσεως ἐπέκεινα φθορᾶς (καὶ) τὸν ἰσραηλίτην  
λαὸν χαλιναγωγήσας πρὸς  
ἀλήθειαν μί[α]γ.....ζ[ή]λω Ἡλίας ὁ προφήτης, εὐχῇ συνεργήσας (καὶ)  
τόνδε τὸν περικαλλῇ  
νεὸν ἐδήματο· ἐ[ν] χρ[ό]ο(νο)ς Λεοντίου, τοῦ παυτά(του) ἱερέως (καὶ)  
εἰρήνης γνησίου ἐραστοῦ, κόπους τε ἀμει-  
β[ο]μένου Σεργίου τοῦ θεοφι[λε]σ(τάτου) (καὶ)] τοῦ φροντιστοῦ δῶρα  
προσδεχνομέ(νου). Μηνᾶ Παμφίλου (καὶ) Θεοδοσίου ἀδελφ(ῶν)  
5 Αἰγιάρων βοηθεία γινομέ(νων) τ[ο]ούτοις τε (καὶ) τῷ ταπεινῷ ἄστει  
τούτω. Γέγονεν ἐν ἔτει φβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια'.

**Date:** 502 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 1 September AD 607 – 21 March AD 608.

457. *MAHAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 371, no. 375.

+ Ἐνθά-  
δε κῆτ(αι) Ἡ-  
λίας Οὐά-  
λης, ζήσα-  
5 ς ἡτ(η) ζ', μη(νι) Δεσί-  
φ, τοῦ ἔτους φγ'.

**Date:** Daisios 503 E.P.A. = 21 May – 19 June AD 608.

458. *SHIVTA* stele (bottom)  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 53-54, no. 54.

+ Ἐνθάδε κατητέθε  
ὁ μακάριος Σέργιος Βενια-  
μίν, Φαρανίτης, μην(ι)  
Γωρπιέου κγ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) αἰ',  
5 ἔτους φγ'. +

**Date:** 23 Gorpiaios 503 E.P.A., <12>th ind. = 10 September AD 608.

*Comments:* The mistake in the indiction number (eleventh instead of twelfth) is probably due to the engraver's failure to observe that a new indiction began just nine days before the date of the inscription, a parallel case is inscription no. 238 from Shivta, as well as nos. 450 and 489.

459. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 371-72, no. 376.

[Ἐνθάδε κῆτ(αι)]  
Ῥοῦ[μ]ο[ς] Ἐμ-  
μεγάνου, ζ(ήσας)  
ἔτη ξ', τελε(υτήσας)  
5 μην(ι) Ξανθ(ικοῦ) δ', τοῦ  
(ἔτους) φε', ἰ(νδικτιῶνος) ιγ'. +

**Date:** 4 Xanthikos 505 E.P.A., 13th ind. = 25 March AD 610.

460. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. L. Ratti, *Le Monde de la Bible* 35 (1984), pp. 39-40; M. Piccirillo, *LA* 39 (1989), p. 117.

+ Ἐνθάδ-  
ε κῆται Εὐ-  
δοξία Σερ-  
γίου, ζήσας(α)  
5 ἔτ(η) θ', τελευ-  
τήσας(α) ἐν μ(ηνι)  
Γορπ(ιαίου), τοῦ ἔτ(ους) φε'.

**Date:** Gorpiaios 505 E.P.A. = 19 August – 17 September AD 610.

## 461. 'ORMÂN altar

Bibl. Dussaud-Macler, *Rapport*, pp. 657-58, no. 44; *PA* III, p. 358.

Side a	Side b	Side c	Side d
Τοῦ βα- σιλέ- ως π- ολλά 5 τὰ ἡ- τη.	Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη ΗΤΟΝ ΙΑ Σε- ργίας ΩΝΚ .ΙΥΑ ΑΝΟΝ. Τοῦ ἔτους 10 φς'. CEP... ΒΗΜΥ.	Ἰοάννη(ς) πρωτε(ύ)ω(ν) πολλά τὰ ἡτη καὶ Ν- άγδα- ς ἀφι- έρ[ωσ(αν)].	+ ΟCΝΙΟ + Νικᾷ.

Date: 506 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 611 – 21 March AD 612.

## 462. ADER stele

Bibl. Canova, pp. 182-83, no. 204.

[+ 'Εν]θάδε  
[κῆτ(αι) Γ]εώργι-  
[ος Α]ρίαρου, ζή-  
[σας] ἔτη ια', μη(νι)  
5 [Δύσ]τρου, ἔτ(ους) φς',  
[ινδ(ικτιῶνος)] ιε'.

Date: Dystros 506 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 15 February – 16 March AD 612.

## 463. SHIVTA stele

Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 55, no. 57.

+ 'Ενθάδε κατάκειται  
ὁ μακάριος Ἀβραάμιος,  
υἱὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ βικαρίου,  
διατρίψας ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ  
5 πέντε καὶ δύο ἔτη καὶ εἰς τοὺς  
ἀναφραστοὺς βίου μετέ-  
στη τῇ μη(νι) Δύστρου θ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε',  
ἔτους φς'.

Date: 9 Dystros 506 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 23 February AD 612.

464. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 63-64, no. 39.

+ Θ(εο)ῦ μῆ(τε)ρ, πῇ ὃ ἔδοκας  
δέξε τοῦ σαντ(ῆς) ναοῦ·  
δούσας ἔλαβεν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ  
Χ(ριστὸς) Μητερίας, Ζήσας(α)  
5 ἔτ(η) ια´, (ἐ)τελεύτα ἐπ|α|γ(ομένης)  
ἡ(μέρας) ε´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε´, ἔτ(ους) φς´.

**Date:** 5th epagomenal day 506 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 21 March AD 612.

465. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. V. Corbo, *LA* 14 (1963-64), pp. 233-34, no. 2.

['Εν]θάδ[ε]  
κῆται 'Α[ν]ασ-  
τασία,  
[ζ]ήσας(α) ἔτ[η]  
5 τρία, τ(οῦ) φς´,  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε´.

**Date:** 507 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 612.

*Comments:* The second letter of the year numeral in line 5 is not clearly indicated, either α´ or a ζ´. Corbo prefers the φς´ reading, 560 E.P.A., which according to him complies with the fifteenth indiction. This is wrong because year 560 falls in the eighth/ninth indictions. On the other hand, year 507 E.P.A., that is φς´, is in perfect concordance with the fifteenth indiction.

466. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* fragment of indeterminable nature  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, p. 193, no. 152.

[- - -] ἔτ(ους) φθ´. +

**Date:** 509 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 614 – 21 March AD 615.

467. *SHIVTA* stele  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 58, no. 62.

+ Ἐτέλεσεν  
τὸν δρόμον  
καὶ ἐνθάδε  
κατετήθη ὁ  
5 τρισμακάρ(ιος)  
Ἰωάννης  
Στεφάνου, πρ(εσβύτερος),  
μ(ηνὶ) Ἀπελαίου κ´,

ινδ(ικτιῶνος) γ', ἔτους  
 10 φθ', δουλεύσ(ας)  
 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ.

**Date:** 20 Apellaios 509 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 6 December AD 614.

468. *AMMAN (Museum)* stele (?)  
 Bibl. Unpublished.

Ἐνθάδε κῆ-  
 τ(αι) Θεοδώρα  
 Θεοδώρου, ζ-  
 ἡσασ(α) ἔτ(η) ιη', μη(ν)  
 5 Ἀρτεμισι(ού) ι', τοῦ (ἔτους) φι', ΕΝ  
 ΔΚΔΕ

**Date:** 10 Artemisios 510 E.P.A. = 30 April AD 615.

*Comments:* The unidentified letters at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth line could stand for the words “ἐν/δ(ι)κ(τιῶνος) δ’”. The fourth indiction does begin on September 1st of the year 510 E.P.A., but 10 Artemisios of the same year falls in the previous indiction year γ’. Unfortunately a different reading of the two last lines is impossible without a squeeze or photograph, at present unavailable.

469. *MAḤAIY* stele  
 Bibl. Canova, pp. 373-74, no. 378.

+ Ἐνθ-  
 άδη κῆ-  
 τ(αι) Ὀβοδο-  
 ς κ(αι) . . [ά]δ-  
 5 ιλφ[ό]ς, β(ιώσαντες) [ἔτ(η)]  
 ξ', Δησ(ίου) φια',  
 ἰ(νδικτιῶνος) ε'.

**Date:** Daisios 511 E.P.A., <4>th ind. = 21 May – 19 June AD 616.

*Comments:* Daisios of the year 511 E.P.A. falls in the fourth and not in the fifth indiction year as Canova noted. For a similar incongruity see comments on inscr. no. 430.

470. *ʿAVDAT* tombstone  
 Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 36-37, no. 27.

+ Ἀνεπάει ὁ μα-  
 κάριος Καπίτω,  
 [ά]ββās Ἐρασίνο-  
 υ ὁ πρεσβύτερ[ος],  
 5 τῇ μηνί Ὑπε-



ρβ(ερεταίου) ε' ἡμέρα, ἔτους  
φιβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'.

**Date:** 5 Hyperberetaios 512 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 22 September AD 617.

*Comments:* This is one more inscription against Grumel's theory. See comments on inscription C.C no. 46.

471. *SHIVTA* stele (in the lower part)  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 57-58, no. 61.

+ Ἐνθάδε κατετέθη Βό-  
ηθος Στεφάνου, πρεσβ(ύτερος),  
ἐν μη(νί) Ἀρτεμεισίου γ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ',  
ἔτους φιγ'. Χ(ριστ)ὲ ἀνάπαυσ(ον).

**Date:** 3 Artemisios 513 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 23 April AD 618.

472. *MAHAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 374-75, no. 379.

+ Ἐνθάδε  
κίτε Σίμων  
Θεοδώρου,  
ζήσας ἔτι ε', τε-  
5 λ(ευτήσας) ἐν μ(ηνί) Δίῳ κε',  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η', τ(οῦ) ἔτ(ους)  
φιδ'. +

**Date:** 25 Dios 514 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 11 November AD 619.

*Comments:* The hundreds figure of the year numeral seems to be written as Ψ instead of Φ. That the letter Φ is meant here is proved by two facts: a) Dios of the year 714 E.P.A. does not fall in the eighth but in the thirteenth indiction, and b) the rendering of Φ through Ψ for the year numeral is a usual phenomenon in Maḥaiy (also inscr. nos. 475, 482, 485, 488 etc.), as Canova pointed out.

473. *MAHAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 377-78, no. 383.

[-----]  
φι ε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η'.

**Date:** 515 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 620.

474. *RIHAB* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese*, pp. 73-74, no. 3.

+ 'Εν ὀνόματι τ(ῆς) ἀγίας (καὶ) ὁμοουσ(ίου) Τριάδος, [ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιο-  
τ(άτου) Πολυεύκ(του)  
ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ἐθεμελιώθ(η) ὁ ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ ἀγίου Στεφάνου (καὶ)  
ἐψηφώθ(η) (καὶ) ἐτελιώθ(η), ἐκ προσφορ(ᾶς) Σεργίου πρε(σβυτέρου)  
(καὶ)  
Στρ(άτωνος?), υἱῶν Γεωργίου, ἐν τῷ πατρικ(ι)ῷ αὐτῶν τόπῳ,  
5 'Ιωάννου Καρκούσου παραμο(ναρίου), ἐν μη(νι) Μαΐῳ, χρ(όνων) η΄  
ινδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ ἔτ(ους) φιε΄.

Date: May 515 E.P.A., 8th ind. = May AD 620.

475. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 375, no. 380.

+ 'Ενθάδε  
κῖτε Θεοδ[ώ]-  
ρα Εὐβ[ούλου],  
ζήσ(ασα) ἔτ[η] δ΄,  
5 τελευτήσ(ασα)  
μη(νι) Δαισ(ίου) ζ΄, ἰν-  
δ(ικτιῶνος) η΄, τοῦ ἔτ(ους)  
φιε΄.

Date: 7 Daisios 515 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 27 May AD 620.

476. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 375-76, no. 381.

+ 'Ενθάδ[ε]  
κῖται Μεγε-  
θεία Σεμμε-  
ιάνου, ζήσα-  
5 σα ἔτι ι΄, τελ-  
ευτήσασ(α) ἐν  
μινεὶ Δεσίῳ  
κ΄, τοῦ ἔτους φιε΄,  
+ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η΄.

Date: 20 Daisios 515 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 9 June AD 620.

477. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 376-77, no. 382.

+ 'Ενθάδ[ε κ]-  
ῖτ(αι) Αἰάθῃ, [ζ(ήσασα)]

ἔτη ε', τελεῖ-  
 τ(ή)σασα) ἐν μηνὶ Δε-  
 5 σ(ίφ) κς', τ(οῦ) φιε',  
 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'. Χ(ριστ)έ,  
 [ἄφ]ες, ἀμήν. +

**Date:** 26 Daisios 515 E.P.A., <8>th ind. = 15 June AD 620.

*Comments:* The inscription is wrongly dated to the ninth indiction year, that is one indiction ahead. This phenomenon occurs also in other inscriptions from Μαῖαι (see comments on inscr. no. 324).

478. *UMMEL-HAMAT* stele  
 Bibl. Canova, pp. 323-24, no. 339.

+ Ἐνθάδε  
 κῆτ(αι) Μαρκ(έ)-  
 λλα, ζήσ(ασα)  
 ἔτ(η) ζ', ἐκοι-  
 5 μήθη μη-  
 νὶ Πανέμ(ου)  
 κ', τ(οῦ) φιε'.

**Date:** 20 Panemos 515 E.P.A. = 9 July AD 620.

479. *'AINUN* stele  
 Bibl. Canova, pp. 239-40, no. 242.

+ Ἐνθάδε  
 κῆτε Θεόδ-  
 ωρος Γεωρ-  
 γίου, ἔτ(ους) φιε',  
 5 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'. Θὲς  
 ΒΑΘΑΛ ἀμαρ-  
 τ(ή)ματα?).

**Date:** 515 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 1 September AD 620 – 21 March AD 621.

480. *RIHAB* mosaic pavement  
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *Chiese*, pp. 80-81, no. 7A.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου Πολυεύκτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
 καὶ μητροπολίτου, ἐψηφώθη καὶ ἐτελιώθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ ἀγίου  
 ἀποστόλου Πέτρου, ἐκ σπουδῆς καὶ καμάτων Γεωργίου Μαρτυρίου,  
 εὐλ(αβεστάτου)  
 4 ἀναγνώστου, ἐν μηνὶ Λόφ, χρόνων ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ  
 ἔτους φη' τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας).

**Date:** Loos 518 E.P.A., 11th ind. = 20 July – 18 August AD 623.

481. *NĀHITE* lintel  
Bibl. Waddington, pp. 550-51, no. 2412m; *PA* III, p. 359.

+ 'Ι(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς. Κυριακός [καὶ]  
Ὅσεβος αὐτοῦ υἱὸ <ς> [καὶ]  
τέκνα α <ὕτ> οὐ ἔθε-  
μελ(ίωσαν) (καὶ) ἔκτησαν τῶ(ν) ναδ(ν)  
5 τοῦ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρο[ς]  
ἀγ(ί)ου Γεωργίου, μηνὸς  
Νοεμβρ(ίου) γ' ΙΜΥΑ το <ῦ> ἔτους  
φιη' τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας), <ὕπέρ> τ' αὐτῶν [καὶ]  
Νοέρου, υἱοῦ Ὁσέβου Αἰάσου, ἐ <κτ> (ίσθη)  
10 αὐλῇ ἐκ ἐπόδου (?) αὐτῶν. +  
+ Καὶ ἀγίου Ἑλισίου.

**Date:** 3 November 518 E.P.A. = 3 November AD 623.

482. *MAḤAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 378, no. 384.

-----  
ἐ[τη .. τελευ]-  
τήσας ἐν μ(ηνί)  
Δύστρου ι', τοῦ  
ἔ(τους) φιη', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ'.

**Date:** 10 Dystros 518 E.P.A., 12th ind. = 24 February AD 624.

*Comments:* Canova read the second letter of the indiction year as α' and therefore assumed rightly that there is a calculation error. However, as far as the obscurity of the photograph allows, we cannot exclude the reading ιβ' which complies with the rest of the dating formula. In addition the A of the indiction numeral does not look like the other A in the text. Discordance between indiction and era year is common in *Maḥaiy* but normally indiction outruns the era year, whereas here the opposite is the case.

483. *SAMA* architrave  
Bibl. Piccirillo, *Chiese*, p. 52, no. B.

+ Οἰκωδῶμευσαν τοῦ  
ἔτους φιθ' τῆς ἐπ(α)ρ(χίας).

**Date:** 519 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 624 – 21 March AD 625.

484. *AUJA HAFIR* (Nessana) slab  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 168-69, no. 81.

+ 'Ετε[λ]εῦ-  
τεσ(εν) Ἀβοσ(ος) Σέ-

ργιος {ε}, ὡς ἐ(τῶ)ν  
 ε', μ(ην)ι Ἀρτεμ(ισίου),  
 5 ι|ινδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ', ἔτ(ους)  
 φιθ'. +

**Date:** Artemisios 519 E.P.A., 12th ind. = 21 April – 20 May AD 624.

485. *MAḤAIY* fragment of a stele  
 Bibl. Canova, pp. 378-79, no. 385.

[... τελευ]-  
 τ(ήσας) |ἐν μηνι|  
 Γορπ(ιαίω) ε',  
 τ(οῦ) φκβ', ινδ(ικτιῶνος)  
 ιε'. +

**Date:** 5 Gorpaios 522 E.P.A., 15th ind. = 23 August AD 627.

486. *AUJA HAFIR* (Nessana)  
 See E.P.A. no. 399b.

487. *SHIVTA* stele (in the upper part)  
 Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 56-57, no. 60.

+ Κατετέθη ἐν Χριστῷ  
 ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις ἀναπαύμε-  
 νος, ὁ τρισμακάριος  
 Ἀρσένιος Ἀβρααμίου,  
 5 μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβ(ύτερος),  
 ἐν μην(ὶ) Αὐγδωναίῳ ιθ',  
 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ', ἔτους φκδ'.  
 Ὁ Κύριος τῆς δόξης  
 αὐτὸν ἀναπαύσι, ἀμήν.

**Date:** 19 Audynaïos 524 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 4 January AD 630.

488. *MAḤAIY* stele  
 Bibl. Canova, pp. 379-80, no. 386.

+ Ἐνθάδε  
 κῆτε Θεοδ-  
 ῶρα Ἰωάν-  
 νου, [ζή]σας(α)  
 5 ἔτ[.], τελευ-  
 τ(ήσασα) |ἐν μην(ὶ) Δα|ι-  
 σ(ίω), |τοῦ ἔτ|ους  
 φκε', ι|ινδ(ικτιῶνος) γ|.

**Date:** Daisios 525 E.P.A., [3rd ind.] = 21 May – 19 June AD 630.

*Comments:* According to Canova the third letter of the year numeral is not certain and could be an η' also. In that case we should restore the indiction year as ζ' in order to comply with Daisios of year 528 E.P.A. Thus the converted date would be 21 May – 19 June AD 633.

489. *AUJA HAFIR* (Nessana) slab  
Bibl. Kirk-Welles, *Nessana I*, pp. 140-41, no. 14.

ΑΣΓΟΥ

+ Κατετήθη ἡ μακαρία

Μαρία Σεργίου Πατρικίου,

ἐν μηνὶ Ὑπερβερετ(αίου) κ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)

5 γ', ἔτου(ς) φκε'.

**Date:** 20 Hyperberetaios 525 E.P.A., <4>th ind. = 7 October AD 630.

*Comments:* The inscription should be dated in the fourth indiction year instead of the third. This is probably an engraver's mistake due to the proximity of 7 October to 1 September, when the change of indiction occurred. For similar inaccuracies, see inscr. nos. 238, 450, 458.

490. *MAHAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 380-81, no. 387.

+ Ἐνθάδε κίτε

Εὐβουλος Σοβρ-

άνου διάκ(ονος), ζήσ(ας)

ἔτι ξ', τελευτή-

5 σας μην(ὶ) Λφου θ',

τοῦ ἔτ(ους) φκζ', ἰν-

δ(ικτιῶνος) ε'.

**Date:** 9 Loos 527 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 28 July AD 632.

491. *SALCHAD* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 475, no. 1997; *PA* III, pp. 359-60.

+ T.A.I. ΕΔΡΙΟΥ +

+ Ὑπὲρ ἀμπα(ύσεως) Ἀναστασίου (καὶ) Ὁ-

βεζάθη(ς) ὁ ναὸς ἐκτῆ(σθη), φκη'.

(Καὶ) Γεωργίου, αὐτ(ῶν) υἱοῦ, τὴν αὐλήν,

5 φξ'. +

**Date:** a) 528 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 633 – 21 March AD 634.

b) 560 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 665 – 21 March AD 666.

492. *MADABA* stele  
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *LA* 39 (1989), p. 114, no. 10.

+ Ἐνθάδε κῆ-  
τε Μηνᾶς Ἰω-  
άννου, ζ(ήσας) ἔτ[η]  
β', τελε(ευτήσας) μη(νὶ) Δε-  
5 σ(ίου) ιβ', τοῦ ἔτ(ους)  
φκθ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'.

**Date:** 12 Daisios 528 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 1 June AD 633.

*Comments:* Piccirillo considers the partially erased numeral, indicating the specific indiction as ζ' (=7). But 12 Daisios 528 E.P.A. is compatible only with the sixth indiction. Moreover, given the variations of the numeral “ζ” in the inscriptions, it is equally reasonable to take the obscure sign as ζ'.

493. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 64-65, no. 40.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, ἀνά-  
παυσ[ο]ν [τὴν ψυχὴν]  
Ἰωάννου Στε[φάνου],  
θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) ἀναγνώ-  
5 στου, ζήσας ἔτι ιδ',  
ἀνεπαί μη(νὶ) Λῳου, ἰν-  
δ(ικτιῶνος) ζ', τ(οῦ) ἔτ(ους) φκθ'.

**Date:** Loos 529 E.P.A., 7th ind. = 20 July – 18 August AD 634.

494. *RIHAB* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Piccirillo, *Chiese*, pp. 76-77, no. 5.

Χάριτι Ἰησοῦ <X> ριστοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἐκτίσθη κῆ  
ἐψηφόθη καὶ ἐτελιώθη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ, ἐπὶ Θεοδο-  
ρου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ θεοτιμῆτου μητροπολίτου, ἐκ προσφο-  
ρᾶς Προκοπίου Μαρτυρίου καὶ Κομητίσσης, συμβίου καὶ τέκν-  
5 ων αὐτῶν, ὑπὲρ ἀφήσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ἀναπαύσε-  
ος γ[ι]νον[τ]ος. <Ε> γράφη ἐν μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ, χρόνον ὀγδόης  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ φκθ'.

**Date:** March 529 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 1 – 21 March AD 635.

495. *MAHAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 381, no. 388.

-----  
|---- ζήσας ἔτη|  
ς' (?), μ(ηνι) Δ[εσ(ίω), τ(οῦ) φ]-  
λ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η'. +

**Date:** Daisios 530 E.P.A., 8th ind. = 21 May – 19 June AD 635.

*Comments:* The restoration of part of the date, proposed by Canova, is based on the concordance of the month and the year numeral with the preserved indiction year. As Canova noted: “abbiamo attribuito quest' iscrizione al sec. VI di Bostra, perchè il dato indizionale concorda col 530, ma non col 430, nè col 630. Abbiamo poi integrato Δ[EC.. e non Δ[ΙΩ., perchè dopo il Δ si vede traccia di linea curva e dall' altra parte il mese Dios sarebbe in questo caso nell' anno IX dell' indizione”.

496. *MAHAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 381-82, no. 389.

['Ενθάδε κεῖτ(αι)|  
H.ÇE... [Ba]-  
ρίχου, ζ(ήσας) ἔτι ε',  
τελε(ο)υτ(ήσας) μ(ηνι) Δ[ί]-  
5 φ ις', τοῦ (ἔ)τ(ους) φλ',  
+ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'. +

**Date:** 16 Dios 530 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 2 November AD 635.

497. *SHIVTA* broken slab  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 56, no. 59.

+ 'Ανεπάαι ὡ ἐν ἀγ<ί>οις  
ἀναπαυοῦμενος Στέφ(ανος)  
Βοήθου, πρεσβ(ύτερος), μενὸς  
'Ωγδ<ο> νέου α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ', ἔτους  
5 φλδ'. +

**Date:** 1 Audynaiois 534 E.P.A., 13th ind. = 17 December AD 639.

498. *SHIVTA* floor slab  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 61-62, no. 68.

+ 'Επὶ τοῦ ὡσοιωτ(άτου) Γεωργίου  
ἡμὸν ἐπισκ(όπου) (καὶ) Πέτρου, ἀρχη-  
διακ(όνου) (καὶ) ἰκονόμου, ἐγέ-  
νετο τῷ ἔργον τοῦτο  
5 τοῖς πλάκοσης, μ(ηνι) 'Ογ-



δονέου α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ',  
ἤτους φλδ'. +

**Date:** 1 Audynaios 534 E.P.A., < 13 > th ind. = 17 December AD 639.

*Comments:* There is a discordance between the indiction year – it should be ιγ' – and the rest of the dating formula. This inaccuracy cannot be corrected, even if we assume that the epoch of the era had been moved back (1 September AD 105) or forward (1 September AD 106) by then. This assumption is already proved wrong by inscr. no. 497 from Shivta which is dated at exactly the same time as the present one and still maintains the original starting point of the era. The mistake in the indiction year should be, in our opinion, attributed to the engraver of the inscription if, in addition, we take into consideration the rather careless incision of the text, as well as its spelling errors.

499. *AUJA HAFIR (Nessana)* stele  
Bibl. Unpublished. Israel Antiquities Authority Files.

+ 'Ετελ(ειώθη) ἡ μ-  
ακ(αρία) Νώνεσ(α)  
Γεωργ(ίου), ἐ(ν) μ(ηνι)  
Πανέμου κβ',  
5 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε', ἔτους  
φλζ'.

**Date:** 22 Panemos 536 E.P.A., < 14 > th ind. = 11 July AD 641.

*Comments:* The inscription is dated one indiction year ahead of the correct one (15 instead of 14). The only way for 22 Panemos 536 E.P.A. to fall in the fifteenth indiction year is to consider 1 September AD 106 as epoch of the era. See also comments on inscr. no. 430.

500. *DEIR AYYUB* lintel  
Bibl. Wetzstein, p. 318, no. 181; Waddington, p. 552, no. 2413a; *PA* III, p. 359.

+ Αὔτη ἡ πύλη Κ(υρίου)υ· δίκαι-  
οι εἰσελεύσοντε ἐν α-  
ὐτῇ. Τοῦτο τὸ ὑπέρθυρον  
ἐτέθη ἐν χρόνοις 'Ηλίου εὐ-  
5 λαβεστ(άτου) ἡγουμέ(νου), μ(ηνι) 'Ιουλίῳ  
κε', INCXΓΕ, τοῦ ἔτους πεντα-  
κοσιοστοῦ τριακοστοῦ ἔ-  
κτου, Κ(υρίου)υ 'Ι(ησοῦ)υ Χ(ριστοῦ)υ βασιλεύοντος.

**Date:** 25 July 536 E.P.A. = 25 July AD 641.

*Comments:* Waddington rightly rejected the restoration “ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'” proposed by Kirchoff, since July 536 E.P.A. does not fall in the 15th but in the 14th indiction. For the refutation of the use of the Christian era in such an early date, as Kirchoff also suggested, see Waddington, no. 2413a.

501. *SHIVTA* tombstone  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 50-51, no. 49.

+ Κα[τετ]έθ[η ὁ τρισ]-  
μακάριος Ζα-  
χαρίου Ο[.]ΔΙΑ,  
μη(νι) Γορπιέ-  
5 ου η', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε', ἔτους  
+ φλζ'. +

**Date:** 8 Gorpiaios 536 E.P.A., <14>th ind. = 26 August AD 641.

*Comments:* The fifteenth indiction year started on September 1st that is, five days after the date of the inscription. Although the dating elements could comply with each other according to the epoch of 1 September AD 106, this solution should be rejected in view of later dated epitaphs from Shivta (nos. 505-507, 510, 512, 523) which are converted on the basis of 22 March AD 106. The discrepancy could be ascribed to a blunder by the engraver who incised the stone after the fifteenth indiction had started.

502. *DHAT-RAS* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 338-39, no. 346.

C .. Ιζήσας ἔ[-  
τη δ', τηλευ-  
τ(ήσας) φλη', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α'.

**Date:** 538 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 22 March – 31 August AD 643.

503. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 383, no. 391.

+ Ἐνθάδε  
κῆτε Μαρία  
Οὐάλεντ(ος),  
δ(ια)κ(όνισσα), ζήσας-  
5 α ἔτι λη', τελ-  
ευτίσας(α) τοῦ  
ἔτους φλη'.

**Date:** 538 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 643 – 21 March AD 644.

504. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 382-83, no. 390.

+ Ἐνθάδε κῆ-  
ται Στέφαν-  
ος Σεργίου, ζή-  
σας ἔτι ε',  
5 τελευτήσα-

ς μηνὶ Παν(ήμω)  
ἔκτη, τοῦ ἔτ(ους)  
φλη΄, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α΄.

**Date:** 6 Panemos 538 E.P.A., 1st ind. = 25 June AD 643.

505. *SHIVTA* stele  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 52-53, no. 52.

----- OENMA  
----- μνήμη  
----- C τοῦ ἀβᾶ  
Θέμρω, μενὸς Δί-  
ου ιθ΄, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
δευτέρως, τοῦ ἔτ-  
ους φλη΄,  
κ(αὶ) Ἰωάνν(η)ς, μηνὶ Ξ-  
ανθικ(ῶ) ι΄.

**Date:** 19 Dios 538 E.P.A., 2nd ind. = 5 November AD 643.

10 Xanthikos (539? E.P.A., 2nd ind.) = 31 March AD 644 (?).

*Comments:* The second date has been completed according to the first one.

506. *SHIVTA* stele (in the lower part)  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 55-56, no. 58.

+ Ἐνθάδε κατάκειται ὁ μακάριος  
Στέφανος Γεωργίου, πρεσβ(ύτερος), καὶ Ἀ-  
βρααμίου ἀδελφοῦ, ἐν μηνὶ Δίου κβ΄,  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β΄, ἔτους φλη΄.

**Date:** 22 Dios 538 E.P.A., 2nd ind. = 8 November AD 643.

507. *SHIVTA* stele  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 59, no. 63.

+ Ἀνηπάη ὡ ἐν ἀγίοις ἀ-  
ναπαύμενος Στέ-  
φανος Ἀβρααμίου,  
μηνὸς Δίου κε΄, ἡν-  
5 δικτιῶνος β΄, ἔτου(ς)  
φλη΄.

**Date:** 25 Dios 538 E.P.A., 2nd ind. = 11 November AD 643.

508. *MELAH EŞ-ŞARRÂR* lintel (?)  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, p. 331, no. 715.

Ἐκτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωβίου (καὶ) Λαβ[δ]ίου  
[ἐ]ν μ(ηνί) .... γ', ἔτους φλθ',  
χιρὶ Ἀμρου Σέου.

**Date:** 539 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 644 – 21 March AD 645.

*Comments:* In Wetzstein's and Waddington's time the inscription was almost intact, while in Littmann's the left and the right end of it are missing. Especially problematic is the second line which contains the date. Only the year numeral is certain, while for the month and the indiction year various restorations have been proposed which are discussed thoroughly in *PAES*. We incline to believe that the reading "[ἐ]ν μ(ηνί) (Ν)ου(ε)β(ρίου) γ'", suggested by Littmann, is very plausible, although other readings cannot be rejected since we do not possess a better drawing or photograph of the inscription.

509. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 384, no. 392.

+ Ἐνθά[δε]  
κῆτε Θεό-  
δωρος Γερ-  
μανοῦ, ζή-  
5 σας ἔτη ξε',  
τελευτήσ(ας)  
μη(νός) Ξανθικοῦ  
κζ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ', τοῦ  
(ἔτους) φλθ'.

**Date:** 27 Xanthikos 539 E.P.A., <2>nd ind. = 17 April AD 644.

*Comments:* 27 Xanthikos 539 E.P.A. falls in the second indiction, that is, two indiction years behind the one written on the inscription.

510. *SHIVTA* slab  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 51-52, no. 50.

+ Ἀνεπάε ἡ τρισ-  
μακ(αρία) Σαβίνα Γε-  
ωργίου τοῦ Σελα-  
μάνου, μη(νός) Ξαν-  
5 θικ(οῦ) α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ',  
ἔτους φμα'.

**Date:** 1 Xanthikos 541 E.P.A., 4th ind. = 22 March AD 646.

511. *REHOVOT* graffito  
Bibl. Y. Tsafir, *Qedem* 25 (1988), pp. 176-77, no. 39.

Ἰωάννης  
Ἰωάννου ΝΑ  
ἔτους φμα'  
ΣΑΙΛΑΝ

**Date:** 541 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 646 – 21 March AD 647.

512. *SHIVTA* stele  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 52, no. 51.

+ Ἀνεπάε ὦ τρι-  
σμακ(άριος) Στέφ-  
ανος Ἰωάνν-  
ου τοῦ βικαρίου,  
5 τῇ μηνὸς Ἀπελ(λαίου)  
πέμτι, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε', ἔτου-  
ς φμα'. +

**Date:** 5 Apellaios 541 E.P.A., 5th ind. = 21 November AD 646.

513. *EL-KUFR* lintel  
Bibl. *PA* III, p. 360.

<Τ> ἰ χάριτι τῆς ἁγίας, ζωοπ(οιοῦ) Τρ<ι> ἁδ(ος)  
ἐτέθησαν τὰ θημέλια τοῦ ἁγ(ίου) ἐνδόξ(ου)  
μάρτυρος Γεωργίου, τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς ἐβδ(ομάδος), τῇ ν-  
ουμ(η)ν(ία) ἐς(χά)τ(η) Ἀπ(ριλίου), χρ(όνων) ι' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος),  
ἔτ(ους) φμζ', ἐκ καμ(άτων) Βαρέκου.

**Date:** Last day of April 547 E.P.A., 10th ind. = 30 April AD 652.

514. *EL-MOTE* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 300, no. 316.

Ἐνθάδε[ε]  
κῆτε Θε[ό]-  
δορος Στε[φ]-  
άνου, ζή[σ]-  
5 ας ἔτι τριώ(κοντα?),  
[τ]ιοῦ ἔτους  
φμζ', χρ(όνων) ιβ' ἐ(νδικτιῶνος) ?

**Date:** 547 E.P.A., <11>th ind. = 1 September AD 652 – 21 March AD 653.

*Comments:* If the indiction year is to be restored ιβ', as Canova suggested, then there is a calculation error, for year 547 E.P.A. corresponds with parts of the tenth and the

eleventh indiction years. However, there is a possibility that the second numerical figure of the indiction is an A, which gives the correct indiction year.

515. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, p. 385, no. 393.

+ 'Ενθάδε κί-  
τε 'Οδεσέου  
Ναφάα, ζή-  
σας(α) ἔτι ζ', τε-  
5 λευτίσας(α) μη(νός)  
'Αρτ(εμισίου) κ', τοῦ ἔ(τους)  
φνς', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
ε'. +

**Date:** 20 Artemisios 556 E.P.A., <4>th ind. = 10 May AD 661.

**Comments:** 20 Artemisios 556 E.P.A. falls in the fourth and not in the fifth indiction year. Here a common phenomenon in the inscriptions from Maḥaiy occurs once again, i.e. the mistaken indiction year. See comments on inscr. no. 324.

516. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 65-66, no. 41.

+ 'Ενθάδε  
κεῖται  
Κυριακ(ός) Ζαχαρ(ίου),  
ζήσ(ας) ἔτ(η) κδ', τελευ-  
5 τήσ(ας) δ' ἐν μη(νι) Δεσίῳ,  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ', τοῦ ἔτους  
φνς'.

**Date:** 4 Daisios 556 E.P.A., 4th ind. = 24 May AD 661.

517. *SALCHAD*  
See E.P.A. no. 491 b.

518. *ADER* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 183-84, no. 205.

+ 'Ε(ν)θά-  
δε κεῖτε Θ-  
εώδωρος  
'Α(μ)ριλίου, ζ-  
5 ίσας ἔτι κζ',  
τοῦ ἔ(τους) φξ', χ(ρόνῳ)ν  
ἐ(νδ)ικτιῶνος) θ', <Θ> εοδόρας  
ἐγ(γόνου) κύονα.

**Date:** 560 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 1 September AD 665 – 21 March AD 666.

519. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 385-86, no. 394.

+ Ἐν[θά]-  
δε κῆ[τε]  
Σάδα Δου-  
σεγγιλίου, ζ-  
5 ἰσας(α) ἔτη ζ',  
τελευτήσας(α)  
ἐν μηνί Δίω κ',  
[τι(οῦ)] ἔτους φξζ'.

**Date:** 20 Dios 566 E.P.A. = 6 November AD 671.

520. *MAḤAIY* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 386-87, no. 395.

[Ἐνθ]άδε κῆτε  
[Σ]άβας Ἀβρα-  
αμίου, ζ(ήσας) ἔτι ζ',  
τελ(ευτήσας) μηνί Ἀδων-  
5 ἐφ ε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β',  
τοῦ ἔτ(ους) φξζ'.

**Date:** 5 Audynaios 567 E.P.A., <1>st ind. = 21 December AD 672.

*Comments:* The characteristic mistake in the indiction year (second instead of first), so common in the inscriptions from Maḥaiy, appears also here (see comments on inscr. no. 324). However, this time the inaccuracy cannot be corrected even if we convert the date according to the hypothetical epoch of the era, 1 September AD 106.

521. *SHAKKA* (*Maximianopolis*) block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 506, no. 2161; *PA* III, p. 360.

+ Σόεδως καὶ Σάβδος,  
τέκνα Ἰωάννου Μισάσου,  
ἔκτισαν τὸ στάβλον περικλιν-  
ον, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ', ἔτου(ς) φξη' . +

**Date:** 568 E.P.A. (?), <2>nd ind. = 1 September AD 673 – 21 March AD 674.

*Comments:* For the possible use of the era of provincia Arabia in this inscription from Shakka, as well as the discordance between the indiction (it should be β') and the year numeral, see chapter on Other City Eras 3. Shakka, pp. 322-23.

522. *DHAT-RAS* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 339-40, no. 347.

Ἐνθάδε  
κῆται Ἀβραμ-  
ία[ς . ], ζήσας  
ἔτι ., τηλευτή-

5 σας μ(ηνός) Παν-  
ή|μ|ου β', τοῦ  
ἔτους φξθ'.

**Date:** 2 Panemos 569 E.P.A. = 21 June AD 674.

523. *SHIVTA* stele  
Bibl. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions*, pp. 59-60, no. 65.

+ 'Αναπαύι ἐν ἀγί(ις)  
ὁ μακάριος Σαλ-  
αμάνος Θέμου,  
πρεσβ(ύτερος), {α} 'Ωγδ-  
5 ονίου κε', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
ζ', ἔτους  
φογ'.

**Date:** 25 Audynaiois 573 E.P.A., 7th ind. = 10 January AD 679.

524. *MAḤAIY* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 387-88, no. 396.

-----  
. μ(ηνι) Πανέμ[φι]  
ε' (or γ'), τοῦ ἔτους φπα',  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'.

**Date:** 3 or 5 Panemos 581 E.P.A., <14>th ind. = 22 or 24 June AD 686.

*Comments:* The reading of all the numerals of the inscription is quite uncertain due to the state of preservation of the stele, as Canova noted. However, if the reading proposed by the author is correct, then there is a discordance between the month and the year numeral on one hand and the indiction year on the other. See comments on inscr. no. 324.

525. *EL-KERAK* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 66-67, no. 42.

-----  
.MHNA..  
..ΑCTH.  
ΑΘ..ΦΙ|ζ|-  
|ή|σας ἔ-  
τη δ', τοῦ ἔτ(ους) φ[.],  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'.

**Date:** 5[13] – 5[14] (or 5[28] – 5[29], 5[43] – 5[44], 5[58] – 5[59], 5[73] – 5[74], 5[88] – 5[89]) E.P.A., 7th ind. = 1 September AD 618 (or 633, 648, 663, 678, 693) – 31 August AD 619 (or 634, 649, 664, 679, 694).

*Comments:* During the sixth century E.P.A. the seventh indiction year falls for the first time in years 513 – 514 E.P.A. and for the last time in years 588 – 589 E.P.A.



## 8th century AD

526. *UMMER-RASAS* mosaic pavement  
 Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *LA* 37 (1987), pp. 183-86, no. 4; *SEG* 37 (1987), p. 486, no. 1553; R. Schick, "Is 718 AD the Correct Date of the Mosaic in the Nave of the Church of Saint Stephen at Umm er-Rasas, Jordan?" Paper Presented at the Conference on the History of Bilad ad-Sham during the Abbasid Period, Univ. of Jordan; March 1990 (communicated by the author).

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου Σεργίου ἐπισκόπου [ἐτελ]ιώ[θη] ἡ ψίφωσης τοῦ  
 ἁγίου κ(αὶ) ἐνδόξου  
 πρωτοδιακόνου κ(αὶ) πρωτομάρτυρος Στεφάνου, σπουδῇ Ἰω(ά)ννου  
 Ἰσακίου  
 Λέξου θεοφιλεστάτω διακόνῳ κ(αὶ) ἄρχοντι Μεφάον οἰκονόμου  
 κ(αὶ) παντὸς  
 τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ κάστρου <Με> φάων, ἐν μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ,  
 ἰνδικτιόνος  
 5 β', τοῦ ἔτους ἡπαρχίας Ἀραβίας χ<ιγ> κ(αὶ) ὑπὲρ μνήμης κ(αὶ)  
 ἀναπαύσεως Φιδόνου Ἀείας φιλοχ(ρίστο)υ.

**Date:** October 6 <13> E.P.A., 2nd ind. = October AD 718.

**Comments:** There is no concordance between the year 680 E.P.A. and the second indiction. As M. Piccirillo rightly observes, the year numeral is found in a spot which was mutilated and later repaired, something that might account for the discrepancy in the numerical figures. A very plausible assumption would be that the second mosaicist, ignorant of Greek, could have made a "Π" out of the two vertical strokes of the letters "ΙΓ", which would perfectly fit the space available and furnish an era year (613 E.P.A.) compatible with the second indiction. R. Schick, who examined the remains of the emended part and the historical hints this restoration gives, demonstrated very persuasively that ΧΙΓ (AD 718) is the more befitting date. But Piccirillo, who also associated the discord between the era year and the indiction with the repair, accepted the restored date ΧΠ (AD 785) with the argument that this mosaic pavement, laid over an earlier one, had to be later than that of the bema which is surely dated in 650 E.P.A. (AD 756). Save the fact that the dated mosaic of the bema also replaced an earlier one (see Schick), this argument cannot contest the evidence from the part of the mosaic which furnishes the year numeral.

527. *MA'IN* mosaic pavement  
 Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 186-87, no. 158.

Αἱ ὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κυρίου· δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ.  
 ΧΙ. . . .<sup>ca.35</sup> . . . ἰλος ἔργον  
 τ[. . . .<sup>ca.34</sup> . . . from which σπουδῇ...Θ]εοῦ πρ(εσβυτέρου) καὶ  
 το[ῦ . . . .<sup>ca.28</sup> . . . ἐν χρ(όνοισ)] ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) τρίτης,  
 5 ἔτους χιδ'. [Ἀγαπᾷ Κ(ύριο)ς τὰς πύλας Σιών ὑπὲρ  
 πάντα τὰ] σκινόματα Ἰακώβ.

**Date:** 614 E.P.A., 3rd ind. = 1 September AD 719 – 21 March AD 720.

528. *EL-KUFR* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 312-13, no. 677.

Ἐκτῆσθι ὁ οἶ[κ]ος τοῦτο(ς) ἀπὸ θεμελίου  
ἐν μ(ηνί) {μ} Σεπτεμβρ(ίῳ), χρ(όνων) δ' ἰν(δικτιῶνος), ἔτους χλ'.

**Date:** September 630 E.P.A., 4th ind. = September AD 735.

529. *DUWEKHL* stele  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 405-406, no. 420.

+ Ἐνθ[ά]-  
δε κῆτ[ε]  
ἽΟθμάγ-  
ου CE.ÇH,  
5 ζέσας, ἔ[τ]-  
ους χλα'.  
+

**Date:** 631 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 736 – 21 March AD 737.

530. *UMMER-RASAS* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. M. Piccirillo, *LA* 37 (1987), pp. 180-82, no. 1; *SEG* 37 (1987), pp. 485-86, no. 1552A.

+ Χάρητι Χ(ριστο)ῷ  
ἐκωσμήθη ἡ  
ψίφοσις τοῦ ἀγί-  
ου βίματος τοῦτου,  
5 ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιωτά-  
του πατρὸς ἡμῶν,  
Ἰῶβ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, (καὶ)  
Ἰωά(ννου) πρε(σβυτέρου) τοῦ ΟCEΘ (καὶ)  
Ἰσέτου ἱκονόμου), μη(νὶ) Μα(ρ)τίῳ,  
ἐνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ', ἔτους χν'. + (vertically laid on the right side of the text)

**Date:** March 650 E.P.A., 9th ind. = 1 – 21 March AD 756.

531. *MAḤAIY* tombstone  
Bibl. Canova, pp. 388-89, no. 397.

+ Ἐνθάδε κῆτ[(αι) Ζ]ωβ[ε]λίδης Σαλ-  
μοκρατίωνος καὶ Σαβῖνος  
υἱός, ζήσας ἔτη ξε' κ(αὶ) υἱὸς αὔ-  
τοῦ ἔτη δ', ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν  
5 μ(ηνί) Ἀπελ(λαίῳ), τοῦ ἔτ(ους) χπ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'.

**Date:** Apellaios 680 E.P.A., <9>th ind. = 17 November – 16 December AD 785.

*Comments:* According to Canova the reading of the hundreds figure is rather doubtful, as the discordance between the year numeral and the indiction year (Apellaios of year 680 E.P.A. falls in the ninth and not in the 15th indiction) also indicates.

## Chapter 10

### ERA OF ELEUTHEROPOLIS

The era of Eleutheropolis was inaugurated after Septimius Severus' visit in Palestine during his trip to Syria and Egypt.<sup>1</sup> F. de Saulcy was the first to date this event between AD 202 and 208 based on a number of coins.<sup>2</sup> Historians narrowed this period to between AD 200 and 202.<sup>3</sup> It is a group of Byzantine epitaphs of the sixth and seventh centuries AD, however, that finally established the departure point of the Eleutheropolitan era in AD 200.

Before the visit of Septimius Severus, Eleutheropolis (modern Beit Jibrin) was a small, insignificant town (Baitogabra).<sup>4</sup> Due to imperial generosity, it was converted into the capital city of an extensive territory, comprising the whole Idumaea and the toparchy of Betholetepha.<sup>5</sup> To commemorate the Severan refoundation, a new era was introduced and propagated through the city coinage.<sup>6</sup>

Strangely enough no dated inscriptions coming from Eleutheropolis itself have been reported so far. Of the fourteen sixth-seventh century AD inscriptions which offer clear evidence for the era, twelve have been found in Beersheba (nos. 1-10, 12-13), one in Kibbutz Rouhamah, southwest of Eleutheropolis (no. 11) and one in Jerusalem (no. 14).

In the first Christian centuries Beersheba, situated well south of Eleutheropolis, was open to influences from this centre,<sup>7</sup> as well as from other urban "metropoleis" of central Palestine (the later Palaestina Prima), like Gaza, etc. On the basis of the categorical statement that the era employed on the sixth-seventh century AD inscriptions of Beersheba was the Eleutheropolitan one, Jones argued that "it is possible that even Birosaba was originally subject to Eleutheropolis".<sup>8</sup> The decisive role of Eleutheropolis in the political and cultural affairs of Beersheba elapsed from the fourth century onwards, when Beersheba was annexed to the province of Palaestina Tertia.<sup>9</sup> The administrative headquarters were moved to the capital of Third Pales-

1. H. Vincent, "L'ère d'Eleuthéropolis", *RB* 11 (1902), pp. 438-39; W. Kubitschek, "Die Aera von Eleuthropolis in Judäa", *JÖAI* 6 (1903), pp. 50-51.

2. Saulcy, p. 242.

3. S. Vailhé, "L'ère d'Eleuthéropolis et les inscriptions de Bersabée", *Echo* 6 (1903), pp. 310, 313-14, who considered as reasonable the existence of a local calendar at Eleutheropolis (a variation of the Graeco-Arabic one) with which the relevant era was associated. The epoch of this era was placed by him between 20 (29?) June AD 199 and 15 February AD 200. This span was narrowed to between 18 October AD 199 and 15 February AD 200 in his second article on the same subject "Encore sur l'ère d'Eleuthéropolis et les inscriptions de Bersabée", *Echo* 7 (1904), pp. 217-19. See also *DACL* 5,1 (1922), cols. 370-71, s.v. ère no. XI (H. Leclercq).

4. The question whether the name Eleutheropolis was given to the city by Septimius Severus or was already in use is discussed by W. Kubitschek, "Kalenderstudien", *JÖAI* 8 (1905), pp. 94-95.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 94; Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 159; Jones, *Cities*, pp. 278-79.

6. Kubitschek (supra note 4), p. 95; *idem* (supra note 1), p. 51.

7. A. Alt, "Ein Grabstein aus Beersheba", *ZDPV* 42 (1919), p. 187.

8. Jones, *Cities*, pp. 279, 280-81.

9. Z.T. Fiema, "The Era of Bostra. A Reconsideration", *XXXV Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, 1988 (Ravenna 1988), p. 115, note 31.

tine, while the city of Beersheba became the northernmost border of the new province.<sup>10</sup>

The dating formulae of the twelve sixth-seventh century AD inscriptions from Beersheba demonstrate beyond any doubt that this city employed the Eleutheropolitan era to count the years and the Graeco-Arabic calendar to refer to months.<sup>11</sup> Explicit designation of the era – “κατὰ Ἐλευθεροπολίτας” (in various forms and abbreviations) or “τῆς Ἐλευθεροπολιτῶν” – is made in five inscriptions (nos. 2, 4, 7, 9, 12).<sup>12</sup> The remainder are assigned to this era group because their dating information tallies – or is in the most acceptable relation – with the prescriptions of the era.

Schwartz<sup>13</sup> maintained that the specific qualification of the Eleutheropolitan era in Beersheba was felt necessary because this system was not the usual one of the city. He derived this hypothesis from his persuasion that in Beersheba there were two contemporary dating systems in rivalry: the one appropriate for the area and official for the city, era of provincia Arabia, and the dating system of a community related to Eleutheropolis, the Eleutheropolitan era. But the inscriptions he relied on were uncovered in sites well within the Negev, where the era of provincia Arabia was self-evident (E.P.A. nos. 275, 339, 367, 427). It is also possible, as Alt<sup>14</sup> rightly suggested, that the unique inscription from Beersheba, probably dated by the era of provincia Arabia (no. 397), was originally set further south in the Negev. Nevertheless, the isolated use of the era of provincia Arabia, as well as the very plausible reckoning by the Gazaeen era in two other inscriptions found and acquired at Beersheba (see G.E. nos. 115, 117), cannot question the fact that the era of Eleutheropolis was Beersheba's normal and official system for time computation. Accordingly, the clause naming the era could have been added in order to stress the loyalty of Beersheba to the dating mode of Eleutheropolis despite its transfer to the jurisdiction of Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia. Hence, its omission could not create any misunderstanding regarding its nature.

The type of the era, κατὰ Ἐλευθερω(πο)λίτας, is also named in the inscription from Kibbutz Rouhamah (no. 11), an equidistant site from Gaza and Eleutheropolis. In this area, where the territories of Gaza and Eleutheropolis met, the express designation of the era used should have been absolutely essential. Furthermore, if Avi-Yonah's attribution of Kibbutz Rouhamah to the territory of Gaza reflects an undisputed historical reality, then the reference to the Eleutheropolitan era should have emphasized the contrast to the current practice of dating by the Gazaeen era.

The antithesis to the era used locally or the exceptional use of a reckoning system elsewhere employed could explain the concern of the lapicide to name the era in the epitaph uncovered in Jerusalem (no. 14).<sup>15</sup>

10. K.C. Gutwein, *Third Palestine: A Regional Study in Byzantine Urbanization* (Washington 1981), p. 112.

11. Ginzler, *Handbuch* III, p. 51; G.E. Kirk, “Era-Problems in the Greek Inscriptions of the Southern Desert”, *JPOS* 18 (1938), pp. 214-15.

12. One more epitaph from Beersheba, missing the year numeral, names the era too. For this see Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions*, p. 20, no. 12.

13. Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 381, 384, 389-90, 394-95.

14. Alt (*supra* note 7), p. 186.

15. Schwartz, *NGG*, pp. 378-79, no. 2 and p. 395 claimed that another epitaph, found in Jerusalem and mutilated in the area of the year numeral ([θ]ιτ' according to his restoration), was dated according to the Eleutheropolitan era. Thus he assumed that the deaconess Sophia mentioned in the inscription was cloistered in an Eleutheropolitan nunnery of Jerusalem. However, if the restoration of the numerical fig-

**Calendar:** As already stated, there is no direct evidence for the calendar used in Eleutheropolis. The late material from Beersheba (ca. 300 years after the era's introduction) can offer only allusions regarding the past. Therefore, the reader is warned here of the difficulties involved.

The Eleutheropolitan era in Beersheba used the Graeco-Arabic calendar. The explicit statement "κατὰ Ἀραβας" (nos. 4, 9) as well as some correlations between Graeco-Arabic dates and Julian ones on some inscriptions (nos. 6B, 9) listed here and others dated only to month and indiction<sup>16</sup> prove that this calendar is the Arabic calendar of the Hemerologia.<sup>17</sup> The latter was a solar calendar employed in provincia Arabia. Similarly, the Arabic calendar of Beersheba was composed of the twelve Macedonian months of thirty days each in the known order with five intercalary days at the end of the year. The first month of the year was Xanthikos and its first day coincided with 22 March. The structure of this calendar was similar to that of Gaza, since both were modelled on the basis of the Alexandrine one.<sup>18</sup> This fact could offer a hint for the original calendar employed by the era of Eleutheropolis when conceived. Due to its location it is probable that Eleutheropolis used a calendar analogous to those of the neighbouring Gaza and Ascalon. When Beersheba was assigned to Palaestina Tertia, it retained the Eleutheropolitan era, but for practical purposes adopted the Graeco-Arabic calendar<sup>19</sup> which had apparent resemblances to those calendars of Palaestina Prima based on the Egyptian example.<sup>20</sup> This change in

ure by Schwartz is reliable and the era employed is reasonable, then the rest of the dating data [τῇ κα' τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνός, ἡδ(ικτιώνος)/ια'] would not agree with the era year in the case that 22 March AD 200 is deemed as the era's epoch. In other words, this inscription belonging, as our nos. 12 and 13, to the early part of the Julian year (the last part of the Graeco-Arabic, 1 January-21 March) questions once more the issue of the Graeco-Arabic start of the year at Beersheba.

16. F.M. Abel, "Inscriptions grecques de Bersabée", *RB* 12 (1903), p. 426, no. 2; Kubitschek (supra note 4), p. 88; idem, "Zur Geschichte von Städten des römischen Kaiserreiches", *SBWien* 177, 4 (1916), p. 18; *SEG* 34 (1984), p. 406, no. 1466; Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions*, p. 37, no. 29.
17. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "Le calendrier dit 'des Arabes' à l'époque grecque", *RAO* VI (1905), pp. 124-25.
18. Ibid.; Alt (supra note 7), pp. 182-83; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 173.
19. Alt (supra note 7), p. 187 believed that the Graeco-Arabic calendar was connected with the Eleutheropolitan era only in Beersheba when it was incorporated in Palaestina Tertia, while Kubitschek (supra note 4), p. 95, presumed that the era from its first introduction in Eleutheropolis employed the Graeco-Arabic calendar.
20. Below are given the correlation lists among the four calendars according to Kubitschek (supra note 4), p. 96.

	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Ascalon</i>	<i>Gaza</i>	<i>Arabia</i>
29 Aug.	Thoth	Loos	Gorpioaios	19 Aug. Gorpioaios
28 Sept.	Phaophi	Gorpioaios	Hyperberet.	18 Sept. Hyperberet.
28 Oct.	Athyr	Hyperberet.	Dios	18 Oct. Dios
27 Nov.	Choiak	Dios	Apellaios	17 Nov. Apellaios
27 Dec.	Tybi	Apellaios	Audynaaios	17 Dec. Audynaaios
26 Jan.	Mechir	Audynaaios	Peritios	16 Jan. Peritios
25 Feb.	Phamenoth	Peritios	Dystros	15 Feb. Dystros
				17 March Epagom. days
27 March	Pharmuthi	Dystros	Xanthikos	22 March Xanthikos
26 April	Pachon	Xanthikos	Artemisios	21 April Artemisios
26 May	Pauni	Artemisios	Daisios	21 May Daisios
25 June	Epiphi	Daisios	Panemos	20 June Panemos
25 July	Mesori	Panemos	Loos	20 July Loos
24 Aug.	5 Epagom.	5 Epagom.	5 Epagom.	

the dating practice and the calendar's independence from the era are stressed through the original expression "κατὰ Ἀραβας" which is thought here as indispensable – although self-evident – for a site of Palaestina Tertia. The formula "κατὰ Ἀραβας"<sup>21</sup> occurs only in the inscriptions under consideration in conjunction with Graeco-Arabic months, twice in the account of St. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* li. 24), accompanying local month names, and in some non-literary papyri of Nessana, introducing year numerals according to the era of Hegira.<sup>22</sup>

Twelve out of the fourteen extant inscriptions point to 1 Xanthikos (=22 March) as the first day of the calendaric year combined with the Eleutheropolitan era at Beersheba. The converted dates of two inscriptions (nos. 12 and 13), however, do not fall in the correct indiction year, if one takes this very plausible and legitimate starting point for the area. This discrepancy caused Abel<sup>23</sup> to suggest the Julian date 1 January AD 200 as the epoch for the era. Schwartz,<sup>24</sup> puzzled by the same problem and sure about the reading, accepted this idea too.

Acceptance of 1 January as New Year's day for the Graeco-Arabic calendar linked with the Eleutheropolitan era of Beersheba means acceptance of the Julianization of this calendar. But the assimilation of the latter to the Julian calendaric type is negated by the structural dissimilarity between the two calendars as well as the epigraphical material.<sup>25</sup> The dating phrases (nos. 6B, 9) which correlate the dates according to the two calendars prove that these calendars were not fused, but they operated independently. Consequently, the Macedonian months recorded in the inscriptions under consideration are those of the Graeco-Arabic calendar, while the Roman ones, either associated with their Macedonian counterparts (nos. 6B, 9) or alone (no. 12), are of Julian character. Given this fact, combination of the pure Graeco-Arabic calendar of Beersheba with the Roman start of the year would be very awkward and confusing and, in view of the evidence provided by the seventh century AD dated inscriptions of provincia Arabia, gratuitous.

**The inscriptions:** All but one inscription are inscribed on tombstones. An obscure dedication is mentioned on the slab from Kibbutz Rouhamah (no. 11). The first inscription of the series belongs to the year AD 518, while the last one refers to a death occurring in AD 647. The remaining twelve inscriptions are evenly dispersed in the period of 130 years between these two dates.

The reference to the era in use is made through the expression "ἔτους κατὰ Ἐλευθεροπολίτας" (and once "ἔτους τῆς Ἐλευθεροπολιτόν" before the year numeral. Only on the slab from Kibbutz Rouhamah (no. 11), bearing two almost identical texts, the phrase naming the era precedes the word introducing the year: "κατὰ Ἐλευθερω(πο)λί(τας) ἔτους α'".

The components of the dating formula appear always in the same position following the model: month, month day, indiction, year. The late date and the experience in the field (or the demands of the time) may account for these detailed dating phrases. The uniformity in the sequence of the dating particles, however, could event-

21. Kubitschek (*supra* note 4), p. 89, note 3 and p. 91.

22. Kraemer, *Nessana 3*, pap. nos. 56 and 60-67; Y. Meimaris, "The Arab (Hijra) Era Mentioned in Greek Inscriptions and Papyri from Palestine", *GA* 3 (1984), pp. 180-83.

23. F.M. Abel, "Nouvelles inscriptions grecques de Bersabée", *RB* n.s. 1 (1904), pp. 269-70.

24. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 394.

25. Clermont-Ganneau (*supra* note 17), p. 127.

ually be a characteristic of this group and thus an indirect confirmation that the dates without the era designation are rightly classified in this category.

The Graeco-Arabic month names are used in all inscriptions except for one (no. 12) which employs the Julian name January and gives the month day in full (μηνὸς/Ἰανουαρίου εἰκάδι ...). In two other texts (nos. 6B, 9) the Graeco-Arabic months and days are preceded by their Julian equivalents, as if the latter were more important or desirable. Further information for a gradual predilection for the Julian nomenclature is missing, while the evidence for the opposite is overwhelming.

The month name is always in genitive, following usually the dative “μηνί” or “ἐν μηνί”. The month day numeral (in Greek letters) comes after this phrase and is never inverted. In two inscriptions (nos. 1, 12) the month day is expressed in ordinal. Slightly different is the month dating clause in three other inscriptions (nos. 1, 3, 6), where the month day or the article (in dative) precede the month name and its introductory word (this time in genitive). The custom of an exhaustive dating, even to week day and hour, is attested only once at Beersheba (inscr. no. 9), but it seems at home in Palaestina Tertia (E.P.A. nos. 352 and 368). The indiction year in each case comes after the abbreviation “ἰνδ(κτιῶνος)” and is always a Greek numeral in forward count. The year numeral is inverted in inscription nos. 2, 9, 11, 12, explicitly naming the era employed. But inscription nos. 4, 7, 14, also pointing out clearly the underlying era, prove that the descending numerical order was equally legitimate for this era too. Despite the ascending sequence of the year numeral, the figures next to the Macedonian month of inscription no. 2 and after the Julian month of inscription no. 9 are expressed in forward count.

If this contrast in the numerical order between the two basic components (month day, year) of the dating formula is explained through the different origins of the calendar (from Arabia) and the era (from Palaestina Prima), this would be an additional proof for the composite nature of the era used in Beersheba during the sixth and seventh centuries AD. In that case this compound reckoning must have been the indisputable dating system in the city, for, if the era of provincia Arabia had been the prevailing one, the two Arabs from Aila and Elusa (nos. 2, 3) would have preferred it.

1. *BEERSHEBA* slab

Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 12 (1903), pp. 427-28, no. 6; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 378, no. 1.

+ Κατετέθη  
ὁ μακ(άριος) Σόλλεος  
τῇ Δεσίου τρίτῃ,  
ἰνδο(κτιῶνος) ια', ἔτους  
5 + τιθ'.

**Date:** 3 Daisios 319 E.E., 11th ind. = 23 May AD 518.

2. *BEERSHEBA* slab

Bibl. R.A.S. Macalister, *PEFQS* 1903, pp. 171-72; H. Vincent, *RB* 12 (1903), pp. 274-75, § II; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 379, no. 3; Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions*, p. 23, no. 15.

+ Ἐνθάδε κεῖτε ὁ μακάριος  
ς Καιοῦμος, Ἀἰλήσιος ἀνεπά-

ε μη(νι) Δεσίου ις´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ´, κατ-  
 ἂ Ἐλευθερωπολίτας δμτ´. +

**Date:** 16 Daisios 344 E.E., 6th ind. = 5 June AD 543.

3. *BEERSHEBA* slab  
 Bibl. A. Alt, *ZDPV* 42 (1919), pp. 177-83, no. 1.

|+ Ἀνε|πάη ὁ μακάριος  
 Ζόναινος Σεργίου, Ἐλου-  
 σήν(ιος), τῇ κβ´ μη(νός) Ξανθικοῦ,  
 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ´, ἔτους τμε´.  
 +

**Date:** 22 Xanthikos 345 E.E., 7th ind. = 12 April AD 544.

4. *BEERSHEBA* slab  
 Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* n.s. 1 (1904), p. 267, no. 2; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 379, no. 5.

+ Ἀνεπάε ἡ μα-  
 καρία Φιλαδηλ-  
 φία, ἐτῶν εἴ-  
 κοσι, ἐν μηνὶ  
 5 Ὑπερβερετέ-  
 ου κ´ κατὰ Ἄρα-  
 βας, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια´,  
 ἔτους τῆς Ἐ-  
 λευθεροπο-  
 10 λιτὸν τμη´. +

**Date:** 20 Hyperberetaios 348 E.E., 11th ind. = 7 October AD 547.

5. *BEERSHEBA* slab  
 Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 46, no. 301.

+ Ἀνεπάη ὁ  
 μακ(άριος) Στέφαν-  
 ος Θεοδώρου,  
 σχολ(αστικός), ἐν μη(νι) Ὑπερ-  
 5 βερ(εταίου) ζ´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ´,  
 ἔτους τνς´. +

**Date:** 6 Hyperberetaios 356 E.E., 4th ind. = 23 September AD 555.



6. *BEERSHEBA* slab  
Bibl. M.J. Lagrange, *CRAI* 1 (1904), p. 299; Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions*, p. 25, no. 17.

- A. Ἐνθάδε κατε-  
τέθη ὁ μακά-  
ριος Πέτρος  
ἐν μηνὶ Ἀρτε-  
5 μισίου α΄,  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ΄.  
B. + Ἐνταῦθα κεῖτ(αι)  
κ(αὶ) ὁ μακ(άριος) Ἀβραάμι-  
ος, ἱατρ(ός), ἀναπα-  
10 εἰς τῇ η΄ μην(ός)  
Μαΐου, Ἀρτεμη-  
σίου ιη΄, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ΄,  
ἔτους τξε΄. +

**Date:** 8 May = 18 Artemisios 365 E.E., 12th ind. = 8 May AD 564.

*Comments:* Text B has been inscribed by a different hand, but its lettering is very close to that of text A. It is then probable that both interments occurred within the same indictional cycle. Thus, one would date inscription A to 21 April AD 555. For an analogous case see below E.E. no. 7.

7. *BEERSHEBA* slab  
Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* n.s. 1 (1904), pp. 267-68, no. 3; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 379, no. 7.

- A. + Ἀνεπάη ὁ μακάριος  
Ἰωάννης Εὐλογίου ἐν  
μην(ὶ) Δεσίου δ΄, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ΄, ἔτους  
κατὰ Ἐλευθεροπολεί-  
B. 5 τας τξε΄. + Καὶ ἀνεπάη ὁ μα-  
κάριος Ἡλίας, ὁ υἱὸς αὐ-  
[τοῦ], ἐν μηνὶ Ἀρτεμ(ι)σί-  
[ου ...], ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) γ΄, ἔτους τοα΄. +  
[Ἀνάθεμ]α δέ ἐστιν ἔκασ-  
10 [τος ὃς τοῦτ]ον τὸν τάφον  
[ἀνοίγει, ἐπε]ὶ γὰρ γέμῃ καὶ  
[οὐκ ἔτι χωρεῖ] ἄλλον τινά.

Lines 3-4: the division between these lines is arbitrary for no relevant stroke is handed by Abel.

**Date:** A. 4 Daisios 365 E.E., 12th ind. = 24 May AD 564.

B. Artemisios 371 E.E., 3rd ind. = 21 April – 20 May AD 570.

8. *BEERSHEBA* stele  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 46, no. 300.

[+ 'Ενθάδε] κῆτε ὁ μακά-  
[ρ(ιος) κ(αί) ἐν ἀγίοις] 'Ιωάννης Ζο-  
[ναίνου, ἐν μη(νί) Π]εριτίου γ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
[γ', ἔ]τους το'.

**Date:** 3 Peritios 370 E.E., [3]rd ind. = 18 January AD 570.

9. *BEERSHEBA* slab  
Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* n.s. 1 (1904), pp. 266-67, no. 1.

+ 'Ενθάδε κεῖται ὁ μα-  
κάριος Θεόδωρος  
Γερμανοῦ, ἀναπα-  
εῖς μη(νί) 'Απριλλίου κγ',  
5 κατὰ δὲ 'Αραβας 'Αρτε-  
μισίου γ', ἡμέρ(α) ζ', ὥραν β',  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ζ', ἔτους κατὰ  
'Ελευθερ(οπολίτας) θπτ', ζήσας  
ἔτη ε', μῆνας ζ'. 'Ανάθε-  
10 μα δὲ ἔστω ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) κ(αί) τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
'Αγίου Πν(εύματος) πᾶς ἀνύ-  
γων τὸ μνήμα τοῦ-  
το, ἐπειδὴ γέμει. +  
+

**Date:** 3 Artemisios 389 E.E., 6th ind. = 23 April AD 588.

10. *BEERSHEBA* slab fragment  
Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* n.s. 1 (1904), p. 269, no. 6.

--- ΝΟΥΜΕΝ  
--- . ΟΥ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ?  
--- ΛΙΑΝΟΥ  
-- ['Ἀρτ]εμῆς(ίου)?  
--- τζς'.

**Date:** Artemisios (?) 396 E.E. = 21 April – 20 May AD 595.

11. *KIBBUTZ ROUHAMA* slab  
Bibl. B. Lifshitz, *ZPE* 7 (1971), pp. 161-62, no. 20; J. and L. Robert, *BE* 7 in  
*REG* 84 (1971), p. 529, no. 700.

A. + 'Επὶ 'Ιωάννου θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) πρ(εσβυτέρου) ἐγένετο  
τὰ ὥδε, ἐν μηνὶ Γορπ(ιαίου), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ',

κατὰ Ἐλευθερω(πο)λί(τας) ἔτοις (sic) αὐ' .  
 Στεφάνου τεχ(νίτου) γραφέ (sic).  
 Β. + Ἐ(ν) Γορ(πιαίῳ), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ' ,  
 (κ)ατ' (Ἐλευθερο)πολ(ίτας) ἔτ(ους) αὐ' ,  
 ἐ(πὶ Ἰωάν)νου πρεσβυτ(έρου).

**Date:** Gorpiaios 401 E.E., 4th ind. = 1 – 17 September AD 600.

12. *BEERSHEBA* slab  
 Bibl. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RB* n.s. 3 (1906), pp. 85-86; Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 380, no. 9.

Ἀνεπάη ἐν Κ(υρίῳ) Ἡλίας  
 Πρόμου, σκριν(ιάριος), μηνὸς  
 Ἰανουαρίου εἰκάδι, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) η' ,  
 ἔτους κατὰ Ἐλευθερο-  
 5 πολίτας ςυ' .

**Date:** 20 January 406 E.E., <9> th ind. = 20 January AD 606.

*Comments:* 20 January AD 606 falls in the ninth indiction and not in the eighth as recorded in the epitaph.

13. *BEERSHEBA* slab  
 Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* 12 (1903), p. 427, no. 5; Kubitschek, *Kalenderstudien*, pp. 89-90; Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions*, p. 35, no. 27.

+ Ἀνεπάε ὁ μα-  
 κ(άριος) Ἰωάννης, ὁ  
 τριβοῦν(ο)ς, μην(ὶ)  
 Δύστρω κε' ,  
 5 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) α' , ἔτ(ους)  
 υἱδ' . +

**Date:** 25 Dystros 414 E.E., <2> nd ind. = 11 March AD 614.

*Comments:* 11 March AD 614 falls in the second indiction and not in the first one as stated in the text.

14. *JERUSALEM* slab  
 Bibl. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 380, no. 11; P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 44 (1921), pp. 105-106, no. 163.

[Ἀνεπάη ἐν Κ(υρίῳ)] ... ΔΕΑ ...  
 [σύμβιος? τοῦ] μακαρ(ίου)  
 Ἰωάννου, μην(ὶ) Ξανθικ(οῦ) α' ,  
 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε' , ἔτ(ους) κατὰ Ἐλευθε-  
 5 ροπ(ολίτας) υμη' .

**Date:** 1 Xanthikos 448 E.E., 5th ind. = 22 March AD 647.

## Chapter 11

### ERA OF DIOCLETIAN OR ERA OF THE MARTYRS

The era of Diocletian resulted after the reform of the 19-year lunar paschal cycle in Alexandria (AD 303-304). The first year of the corrected cycle was found in retrospect to coincide almost precisely with the first year of Diocletian's reign (AD 284).<sup>1</sup> Thus, shortly before Diocletian's abdication in AD 305, a practice for dating events on the basis of his accession to the throne was introduced. This was not a formal chronological system conceived as such and imposed by some authority. It was its continuous use in due course that lent to it the merits of a time reckoning method.<sup>2</sup> This dating system is designated "era of Diocletian" ("Διοκλητιανοῦ", "ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ"), and its epoch has been fixed on 29/30 August AD 284.<sup>3</sup> This era was essentially employed in Egypt. In the fourth and fifth centuries AD it served there as the dating device of birthdays for casting horoscopes, as well as of both Greek and Demotic graffiti.<sup>4</sup> In the late fifth century AD (AD 491/2 or 492/3) it also appeared on gravestones<sup>5</sup> and some 150 years later (AD 656/7 or 658) in papyrus documents.<sup>6</sup>

The era of Diocletian was later given the alternative name "era of/from the Martyrs".<sup>7</sup> The clause "ἀπὸ τῶν μαρτύρων" is evidenced for the first time in an inscription of 15 December AD 643.<sup>8</sup> This second designation is revealing of the Christian character later attached to the era. With this name, the Coptic Church wanted to perpetuate the memory of the martyrs massacred in the persecutions decreed by Diocletian.<sup>9</sup> The idea that the term "era of the Martyrs" was a later variant can indirectly be deduced by the story of the monk Dionysius' era. Dionysius, bothered by the fact that in his day (AD 532) the era of Diocletian was in fact widely used in Egypt and occasionally in Europe, suggested the "Christian era" based on the birth-

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1. Diocletian obtained the imperial sovereignty on 20 November AD 284, whereas the era of Diocletian started on 29 August AD 284. For this issue see Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 105, note 59.
  2. *DACL* 5, I (1922), cols. 362-63, s.v. ère (H. Leclercq); Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 36-37 and 221.
  3. G.L. Arvanitakis, *Χρονολογία τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* (Athens 1940), p. 42; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 221; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 72; R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (*StudAmst* 8, Zutphen 1978), pp. 43-49.
  4. Bagnall-Worp (supra note 3), p. 43; eidem, "Chronological Reckoning in Byzantine Egypt", *GRBS* 20 (1979), p. 284.
  5. Bagnall-Worp (supra note 3), p. 44; eidem (supra note 4), p. 284.
  6. Bagnall-Worp (supra note 3), p. 44; eidem (supra note 4), p. 286.
  7. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 221; Bagnall-Worp (supra note 3), p. 43.
  8. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 221.
  9. I. Ghali in his article, "Le calendrier copte et l'ère des Martyrs", *BIAO* 66 (1968), pp. 113-20, suggested that "martyrs" were not only the victims of Diocletian's religious intolerance (demonstrated by the persecution started in February AD 303), but also the numerous rebels killed during the Egyptian emancipation war against Rome which ended between AD 292 and 295.

date of Jesus Christ.<sup>10</sup> If, by the sixth century AD, the civil era of Diocletian had already been taken to commemorate the Christian martyrs (as it still does in the Coptic Church), Dionysius would not have objected to its use and furthermore would not have wished its annulment.

**The inscriptions:** The arguments for the use of the era of Diocletian in Palestine are not convincing,<sup>11</sup> the tenuous evidence provided by a handful of examples from Palaestina Tertia (nos. 2-5), collected and discussed by G.E. Kirk,<sup>12</sup> and Palaestina Prima (no. 1).

Kirk's inscription no. 3, a gravestone from the Mount of Olives, does not bear any date with certainty since the crucial phrase "Θεογένους ἐπεισκ(όπου)" should more preferably be read thus instead of "Θεογένους, ἔτει σκ'" (reckoned consequently according to the era of Diocletian).<sup>13</sup>

A burial epitaph from Jerusalem, mentioning a nephew of two consulars named Areobindos, is dated in December of the first indiction of an era year 104.<sup>14</sup> Conversion by Diocletian era complies with the remainder of the dating data (December AD 387). But dignitaries bearing the name Areobindos are attested only in the fifth-sixth centuries AD.<sup>15</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus' attempt to reckon the years by a speculative local era starting in AD 449 and inaugurated upon the visit of empress Eudocia at Jerusalem is not successful either. Such an epoch makes the dating particles of the inscription correlate well with each other (December AD 552), but unfortunately it is not the right one. Empress Eudocia visited the Holy Land in early AD 438 for the first time and withdrew from there in late 441 or early 442.<sup>16</sup>

The dates of the inscriptions listed below are converted according to the era of Diocletian or of the Martyrs due to the specific reference to Diocletian or martyrs and/or to the exclusion of any other era which would produce dates consonant with the content and style of the texts. These are only five and come from Beth Safafa (outside Jerusalem), Shivta (two inscriptions), El-'Arish and Muhezzek.

Concerning inscription no. 1, the dedication of the chapel to the "Holy Martyrs" made its publisher select the era of Diocletian. However, June of 206 E.D. (AD 490) falls in the 13th and not in the 14th indiction, unless the latter had started earlier.<sup>17</sup>

10. Archimandrite Hippolytos, "Ἱστορικὴ καὶ μαθηματικὴ χρονολογία", *Nea Sion* 18 (1923), p. 13; G.L. Arvanitakis (supra note 3), pp. 39-40.

11. Dr. K.A. Worp has generously lent his expertise during our study of the era of Diocletian in Palestine and Arabia. Besides the superb accounts about Egypt, published by him and his colleague Dr. R.S. Bagnall and cited in this chapter, he kindly discussed all the relevant issues in written communications in which he shares our doubts about the use of the era of Diocletian outside Egypt. Sincere thanks are extended to him for his careful remarks.

12. G.E. Kirk, "Era-Problems in the Greek Inscriptions of the Southern Desert", *JPOS* 17 (1937), pp. 209-11, no. 1; idem, "The Era of Diocletian in Palestinian Inscriptions", *JPOS* 18 (1938), pp. 161-66, nos. 1-5.

13. For the relevant discussion see Kirk, *JPOS* 18 (1938), p. 163, no. 3.

14. Clermont-Ganneau, *ARPI*, pp. 222-25.

15. Ibid., p. 225; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 403 and 547.

16. E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire: AD 312-460* (Oxford 1984), pp. 222 and 235-36.

17. In Egypt the regionalism affected the beginning of the indiction year, since different starting points (Pachon 1 or 1 May, Epeiph 1 or 1 July, Thoth 1 or 1 September) have been attested in various areas of the country. See Bagnall-Worp (supra note 4), pp. 288-89.

The Roman month, a sign of a sixth-seventh century AD date, and the inverted order of the year numeral cannot be of any help in determining the era employed.

The earliest inscription from Shivta (no. 2), incised on a limestone lintel of a church, mentions a certain priest in whose time a religious structure was erected. The year numeral in descending order is not well preserved. After the extant hundreds figure the tens character is ambiguous – ι' or κ'. Apparently there was a units figure also. If reckoned according to the era of provincia Arabia, an elaborate Christian church must have been built in Shivta between March AD 415 and March AD 435. This, however, contradicts the evidence concerning the conversion of the local population to Christianity and above all the consolidation of the new faith implied by such a building.<sup>18</sup> The era of Diocletian was considered convenient by Kirk, since it would furnish a plausible date between August AD 593 and August AD 613.<sup>19</sup> But argumentation in favour of an era based on a partially preserved numeral makes any conclusion about it extremely vulnerable.

The use of the era of Diocletian in this inscription from Shivta seems very isolated in view of the constant use of the era of provincia Arabia. In fact, one would tend to reject it if another inscribed tablet (no. 3), missing a crucial part, did not draw attention to this topic once more. The block was found in the narthex of the same church in whose room E the lintel was uncovered.<sup>20</sup> The letters are written in red paint on the plastered surface of the stone. The text comprises two corresponding columns with groups of Greek characters. The clue for the tablet's interpretation was furnished by the repetition of the letter group ΙΑΣ accompanied by a Greek numeral, constantly increased by one numerical unit from line to line in the right column as it happens with the left column. Once the ΙΑΣ was taken to be an abbreviation of the word "ἱ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος)", the inscription was considered as a table correlating the indiction year with the years of a certain era. The year numerals were reckoned according to the eras attested in the district (era of provincia Arabia, era of Gaza, era of Eleutheropolis) and tested without success against the indictions, after the appropriate hundreds figures (3, 4, 5 / 5, 6, 7 / 2, 3, 4, respectively) had been restored. Surprisingly enough, perfect agreement can be achieved only with the era of Diocletian. This table generated in AD 617 or shortly before it, was thought to have been conceived as a device to bring the familiar indiction cycle (that is the Constantinopolitan one) into precise correspondence with an unusual era coming from neighbouring Egypt.<sup>21</sup> One should, however, stress the fact that the correlation between the alleged era years and indictions is only valid for 2-3 days (29/30-31 August), since on the 1st September a new indiction started. In light of this observation the table does not seem to be a concordance list linking two dating systems, but rather an arrangement of dates recurring at annual intervals (tax list?). Thus, the most crucial evidence for the use of the era of Diocletian in Third Palestine is insufficient, problematic and inconclusive.

The epitaph from El-'Arish (no. 4) was copied there but the provenance of the stele is unknown. The border site of Rhinocorura (on the spot of modern El-'Arish)<sup>22</sup>

18. K.A. Worp reads "το'" or "τρ'" in the place of the numeral which, reckoned according to the era of provincia Arabia, would give AD 475/6 or AD 485/6. This higher date makes the erection of the church fit better in the historical pattern.

19. Kirk, *JPOS* 17 (1937), pp. 210-11, no. 1; Kirk, *JPOS* 18 (1938), p. 163, no. 4.

20. Kirk, *JPOS* 18 (1938), pp. 163-66, no. 5.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-66.

22. *RE* 2nd ser. I A, 1 (1914), cols. 841-42, s.v. Rinocolura, Rinocorura (Beer).

was integrated into Egypt, Palestine or neither of them in various historical periods. The problematic provenance of the stele as well as the obscure administrative status of Rhinocorura further perplex the discussion about the geographical distribution of the era. Due to the word “Διωκλιτιανοῦ” preceding the year numeral, one would be prone to accept as the underlying era that of Diocletian and to read an Egyptian month (probably Pachon) in the month abbreviation (Π). But there is a clear disagreement between era year and indiction. On the other hand, a perfect accordance between these two dates is possible if one converts the year numeral according to the era of the province of Arabia and reads the Macedonian month Peritios. Once again the issue of the era of Diocletian in Palestine is seriously questioned.

The phrase “τῶν μαρτύρων” introducing the year in the latest inscription of this group (no. 5) seems an appropriate designation to escort a date according to the era of the Martyrs. The Egyptian month strengthens the candidature of an Egyptian era, although Muhezzeḳ is a site well away from the Palestino-Egyptian borders. Hence the use of an Egyptian era here cannot be interpreted on the grounds of influences due to regional vicinity. It is rather the character of the building – a martyr-ium – commemorated by this inscription which may explain the preference for this particular era. However, since no indiction year is recorded, there is no way to prove definitely whether the era of Diocletian is the one here used.

In conclusion, the survey of the Palestinian evidence concerning the era of Diocletian or era of the Martyrs has shown that this era was never at home in Palestine and that its use there is highly uncertain and doubtful.

**Conversion rule:** For dates between 29/30 August and 31 December we add 283, while for those between 1 January and 28/29 August we add 284.

1. *BETH SAFAFA* mosaic pavement

Bibl. *SEG* 16 (1959), p. 226, no. 850; *SEG* 26 (1976-77), pp. 388-89, no. 1672.

+ Ἐγένετο τῷ πᾶν ἔργ<ο>ν τῆς ἀνεγέρσεως τοῦ οἴκου  
τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κ(αἰ) ἀντηλή-  
μψ<ε> ὡς Σαμουήλου κ(αἰ) τῶν αὐτοῦ δι<α> φερόντων κ(αἰ) ὑπὲρ ἀν-  
απαύσ<ε> ὡς τῶν π<ρ>ολαβόντων ἐν μην(νι) Ἰουνίῳ, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ΄,  
5 ἔτους ςς΄.

**Date:** June 206 E.D., 14th ind. = June AD 490.

**Comments:** There is a discordance between the year numeral and the indiction year. See comments for this date in the text above, pp. 315-16.

2. *SHIVTA* lintel

Bibl. G.E. Kirk, *JPOS* 17 (1937), pp. 209-11, no. 1; idem, *JPOS* 18 (1938), p. 163, no. 4.

Ἐπὶ Ἀέδου πρεσβυτέρου ἐκτίσθη ἐν ἔτι τη[.] or τκ[.]

**Date:** 310-329 E.D. = 29/30 August AD 593 – 28/29 August AD 613.

**Comments:** For the date of this inscription see text above, p. 316.

3. *SHIVTA* block with letters written in red paint  
Bibl. G.E. Kirk, *JPOS* 18 (1938), pp. 163-66, no. 5.

[ἐτ(ους) τλ]δ', i(v)δ[ι(κτιῶνος) ε']  
<ἐτ(ους) τλε', i(v)δ(ικτιῶνος) ζ' >  
[ἐτ(ους) τλ]ζ', i(v)δ(ικτιῶνος) ζ'  
[ἐτ(ους) τλ]ζ', i(v)δ(ικτιῶνος) η'  
5 [ἐτ(ους) τλ]η', i(v)δ(ικτιῶνος) θ'  
[ἐτ(ους) τλ]θ', i(v)δ(ικτιῶνος) ι'.

**Date:** 334 E.D., 5th ind. = 29 – 31 August AD 617  
335 E.D., 6th ind. = 29 – 31 August AD 618  
336 E.D., 7th ind. = 29 – 31 August AD 619  
337 E.D., 8th ind. = 29 – 31 August AD 620  
338 E.D., 9th ind. = 29 – 31 August AD 621  
339 E.D., 10th ind. = 29 – 31 August AD 622

*Comments:* The date of the inscription is discussed in detail in the text above, p. 316.

4. *EL-'ARISH* fragment of a stele  
Bibl. R. Tonneau, *RB* 36 (1927), pp. 93-94, no. 1; G.E. Kirk, *JPOS* 18 (1938), pp. 162-63, no. 2; *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 46, no. 302.

'Αναπ(άη)  
Στέφανος, υἱοῦ  
Γωλωτ Διω-  
κλιτιανοῦ τπδ',  
5 μ(ηνός) Π(α)χ(ών) ζ', iν(δικτιῶνος) ιγ'.

**Date:** 6 Pachon(?), 384 E.D., < 11th or 12th > ind. = 1 May AD 668.

*Comments:* The drawing of the text given by Tonneau shows a minuscule x above the letter Π standing for the name of the month. Henceforth the reading Π(α)χ(ών) is not totally unjustified. In addition to this two more epitaphs copied at El-'Arish by Tonneau also record Egyptian month. Finally according to the era of Diocletian the year numeral 384 corresponds not with the thirteenth but either with the eleventh or the twelfth indiction in view of the different starting points for the indiction. For the discordance between year and indiction and other solutions see chapter above, pp. 316-17.

5. *MUHEZZEK* lintel  
Bibl. *PA* III, p. 358; G.E. Kirk, *JPOS* 18 (1938), pp. 161-62, no. 1; *DACL* X, 2 (1932), cols. 2513-15, s.v. martyrium (H. Leclercq).

Τὸ καλὸν μαρτύριον ἂ <γ> ἰ <ου> Γε[ωργίου?]  
καὶ δικαίων κοιμητήριον ἂ <γ> ἰο[υ]  
Λεοντίου, ἱκανοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἔ <γ> [ένε]-  
το μ(ηνί) <Θ> οὐτ ..κ', ... τῶν μαρτύρων βφ'.

**Date:** 20 Thoth 502 E.D. = 17 September AD 785.

*Comments:* For the assignment of this date to the era of Diocletian see in the text above, p. 317.



## Chapter 12

### OTHER CITY ERAS

There are some inscriptions from the northern fringes of provincia Arabia and a few from the southern *Limes Palaestinae* dated according to unspecified city eras (“ἔτους τῆς πόλεως”). These eras are connected with direct imperial munificence to the site (usually a village) and its elevation to city status. The names of these cities make allusions to the emperors involved. In this context the provenance of the inscriptions and the association of the site with an ancient settlement is of crucial importance. Thus, according to these inscriptions some remote cities of the Roman Empire commemorated the benefaction of the emperors Philip the Arab, Maximian and Constantine the Great by bearing their names and using eras linked with the time of their aggrandizement. Dates attributed to the above mentioned city eras come mainly from the first years of these eras.

#### 1. Shuhba (Philippopolis)

Shuhba provides only one date reckoned according to year one of the city era (inscr. no. 1).<sup>1</sup> The fact that the first year of the local era falls within the reign of emperors Marcus Iulius Philippus Senior or Father and Marcus Iulius Philippus Junior (AD 244-249) offers a hint for the establishment of the epoch of the era.

On the basis of the accounts by Zonaras<sup>2</sup> and Aurelius Victor,<sup>3</sup> the lists by Georgius Cyprius<sup>4</sup> and Hierocles<sup>5</sup> and the archaeological remnants, Waddington<sup>6</sup> followed by others<sup>7</sup> identified Shuhba with Philippopolis. Philippopolis was the name given to the native village of Philip the Father,<sup>8</sup> after he raised it to a city and offered to it colonial rank.<sup>9</sup>

The era of the embellished city must have been inaugurated at the moment of the imperial munificence. Therefore, its epoch should lie between AD 244 and 249 during the period of Philips' rule. Waddington<sup>10</sup> and others<sup>11</sup> attempted to narrow it down to the time AD 247-249 with the argument that the title “Σεβαστός”, given in

1. In total eleven inscriptions from Shuhba mention Philip and his family, see *AAES* III, nos. 392a, 393, 395-398a, 400-401b; also Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 377, note 2.

2. *Annal.* 12. 19.

3. *Liber de Caesaribus* 28: “Igitur Marcus Iulius Philippus Arabs Trachonites, sumpto in consortium Philippo filio, rebus ad Orientem compositis, conditoque apud Arabiam Philippopoli oppido, Romam venere...”.

4. 1069.

5. *Synecdemus* 722. 12.

6. Waddington, pp. 490-91, no. 2072.

7. *DACL* 5, 1 (1922), col. 360, s.v. ère no. VIII (H. Leclercq); Jones, *Cities*, p. 285; Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 117; idem, *Gazetteer*, p. 88.

8. An inscription (*AAES* III, no. 392) dedicated to M. Aurelius and Commodus implies that there was a settlement there prior to the refoundation.

9. *RE* XIX, 2 (1938), col. 2263, s.v. Philippopolis (E. Honigmann); Stevenson, *Dictionary*, p. 624.

10. Waddington, p. 490, no. 2072.

11. M. Sejourné, “A travers le Hauran”, *RB* 7 (1898), pp. 602-603; *AAES* III, pp. 309-10, no. 395; *PA* III, p. 305; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 216.

the above mentioned inscription, could not be granted to Philip Junior before he was proclaimed Augustus (second half of AD 246).<sup>12</sup> The coinage of the city, apparently of a single issue, does not provide a precise date for the imperial refoundation.<sup>13</sup> These coins, depicting both Philips and calling Philip Son “Σεβαστός”, are similar in style to Antiochene tetradrachms of AD 247-249.

It is, however, questionable whether the title “Σεβαστός” was a synonym and equivalent of “Augustus” in the Greek East during the second and third centuries AD, since co-regnants of minor rank were also styled “Σεβαστοί”.<sup>14</sup> In addition, Aurelius Victor’s account<sup>15</sup> reports the foundation of Philippopolis after the settlement of the Eastern situation (Persian peace) and before the emperor’s return to Rome (ca. 23 July AD 244). Furthermore, the uniformity and grandeur of Shuhba’s public monuments imply that the buildings, planned at imperial instigation, were inaugurated at the time of the city’s foundation and erected during the Philips’ reign.<sup>16</sup> Based on these arguments, Kubitschek<sup>17</sup> placed the epoch of the era before July AD 244 and by connecting it with the Graeco-Arabic calendar<sup>18</sup> established it on 22 March AD 243 or 244. To adopt AD 244 as the epoch of the city era is reasonable. The linking of the city’s foundation with the first regnal year of Philip I (AD 244) even in retrospect would be most desirable for the small community of remote Arabia which supplied the Roman world with its supreme authority.

## 2. Sheikh Miskin

In Sheikh Miskin of Batanaea the unique inscription (no. 2), listed by Waddington, is dated according to an unidentified city era. The task of linking the era with a historical instance of the city’s life is hindered by the fact that Sheikh Miskin is not certainly identified with a site registered by Georgius Cyprius, Hierocles or other ancient documents. Waddington<sup>19</sup> and Jones<sup>20</sup> tentatively suggested that Sheikh Miskin is ancient Neapolis<sup>21</sup> which is first recorded in AD 381. Nevertheless, its eventual foundation or promotion from village to city earlier than this time is deduced by the reference to Iulius Philippus, who financed the erection of the monument mentioned in the inscription. Waddington, followed by Brünnow,<sup>22</sup> thought that this name alluded to the synonymous emperor, native to Trachonitis, who ruled

12. Cagnat, p. 218.

13. K. Butcher, “Two Related Coinages of the Third Century A.D.: Philippopolis and Samosata”, *INJ* 9 (1986-7), pp. 73-75.

14. *RE* X, 1 (1918), col. 771, s.v. Iulius Philippus (E. Stein); W. Kubitschek, “Zur Geschichte von Städten des römischen Kaiserreiches”, *SBWien* 177.4 (1916), p. 41.

15. See supra note 3.

16. Kubitschek (supra note 14), pp. 41-42; G. Amer and M. Gawlikowski, “Le sanctuaire impérial de Philippopolis”, *DM* 2 (1985), p. 13.

17. Kubitschek (supra note 14), p. 41.

18. Although it is reasonable to postulate that the calendar in use was the Graeco-Arabic one, an unpublished Greek inscription (Amer-Gawlikowski, supra note 16, p. 12 and note 22) dates the consecration of a temple according to the Roman fashion (the fourth day before the Ides of August).

19. Waddington, pp. 551-52, no. 2413.

20. Jones, *Cities*, pp. 285-86 and 466, note 82.

21. *Georgius Cyprius* 1067; *Synekdemos* 722, 10 and note to it by E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdemós d’Hiérókles et l’opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (*Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Forma Imperii Byzantini*- Fasc. 1, Brussels 1939), p. 44.

22. *PA III*, p. 305.

from AD 244 till 249. Accordingly it would be reasonable to put the activity and consequently the donation of this person one or two generations after Philip's reign. The epoch of the era and the occasion for its introduction is apparently bound to await more evidence.<sup>23</sup>

### 3. Shakka (Maximianopolis)

Seven inscriptions<sup>24</sup> provide material for the discussion concerning the city era of Shakka. The earliest text – according to the era numeral (no. 3) – is a burial epigram whose style (vocabulary and symbolic abbreviations) assigns it to the fourth century AD. Two other inscriptions commemorate the erection of Christian buildings (church, no. 4 and martyrium, no. 7) and two more record construction of stables and inns (no. 6, E.P.A. no. 521). Finally, in a mutilated tabula ansata, an obscure numerical value follows the heavily abbreviated “ἐτ[ους] τῆς πό[λεως]” beneath the line mentioning the church office of a deacon (no. 5).

Since it has been accepted that Shakka is the ancient city Maximianopolis<sup>25</sup> developed from a pre-existing village,<sup>26</sup> one would attempt to tie the settlement's elevation to city rank and aggrandizement with a ruler bearing the name Maximianus. A boundary stone found in Djeneine<sup>27</sup> shows that among the Tetrarchs who were concerned with territorial rearrangements in the region, there were two Maximians: the partner of Diocletian, M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus and the Caesar C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus. Consequently, the foundation should be earlier than AD 305, the date of Diocletian's (and Maximian's) abdication. Augustus Maximian (AD 286-305) was active in the West, but he had married a Syrian woman.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, Galerius (Caesar AD 293-305, Augustus AD 305-311), who played the leading role in the Persian frontier in AD 296/7,<sup>29</sup> was the favourite of Diocletian. Thus, the argument in favour of the emperor Maximian would be his higher rank in hierarchy.<sup>30</sup> After him not only Maximianopolis in Trachonitis, but

23. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 377, note 4; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 47, note 163.

24. One epistyle from Shakka (*SEG* 7[1934], p. 134, no. 1009) bears an inscription whose dating formula is considerably effaced: + Ἀρχέλαος ἱερίου δ[ιάκ(ονος)]/ ἐξ ιδίων οἰκοδόμη[σεν]/ τοὺς δύο τρικλίνους, μ[η]ν[ι] – – / ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) ζ', ἐτ(ους) τῆς πόλ[εως] υ' (or υη'). It appears that the almost obliterated year numeral was preceded by the familiar clause “ἐτους τῆς πόλεως”. The largely hypothetical reading of the whole phrase makes any further discussion highly inconclusive. If, however, the year numeral is to be restored υ' (410), then conversion according to the conjectural era of Shakka or that of provincia Arabia would not comply with the indiction number. An agreement between indiction and year numeral could be established, if the latter were read υη' (408) and reckoned on the basis of the era of provincia Arabia, i.e. 408 E.P.A., 6th ind. = 22 March–31 August AD 513.

25. Jones, *Cities*, pp. 465-66, note 82; L. Robert, “Epitaphes de Syrie”, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960), pp. 312-13; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, p. 92.

26. See *infra* note 39a, where the site is called “κώμη”. In view of this information the role of Maximian in this case should be that of a refounder.

27. Robert (*supra* note 25), p. 313: Οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεββ. καὶ Κωνσταντῖος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες, λίθον διορίζοντα κώμης Ὀρέλων ὄρον Μαξιμιανοπόλ[εως] στηρικθῆναι ἐκέλευσαν, [φ]ροντ[ίσ]ειν Λουκίου καὶ Ἀκακίου κημιστόρων.

28. *RE* XIV, 2 (1930), col. 2488, s.v. Maximianus (W. Enßlin).

29. *Ibid.*, cols. 2521-22.

30. L. Robert (*supra* note 25, p. 313) gave the credit for the foundation of the Trachonian city to emperor Maximian due to his position. On the contrary Hölscher (*RE* XIV, 2 [1930], col. 2485, s.v. Maximianopolis 5) is inclined to consider Caesar Galerius, adopted son of Diocletian, as the person involved. Finally Jones, *Cities*, p. 285, assigns the conversion of Shakka into a city to Diocletian.

also a city in the Valley of Jezreel (Palaestina Secunda) were named.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, the date of the imperial refoundation can be narrowed to the time between AD 286 and 305. Within this period only two dates correlate with the numerical data of the inscriptions: AD 287 or 302.<sup>32</sup> These epochs, however, are not entirely without problems. If the year numerals are tested against the indictions, a problem is immediately encountered in the earliest text dated by indiction (no. 4). There the indiction year only agrees with the year if the former is emended from ιε' to ιβ' or the latter from σξγ' to σξε'. The era numerals of inscription no. 7 and E.P.A. no. 521, reckoned according to the suggested epochs, are in concord with the indictions. However, computation of the later inscription (E.P.A. no. 521) according to the departure points AD 287 or 302 results in barely acceptable ninth century AD dates (854/5 or 869/70). By that time not only the local eras but also the era of provincia Arabia must have become extinct within the consolidated Islamic regime. This inscription puzzled Waddington (followed by Brünnow) and Prentice, who placed its era epoch in the time of King Agrippa II: either in AD 91/92, the time of his death or AD 61/62, an unknown turning point in his career.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, such an early date would put the rest of the inscriptions in an extremely early context which would not comply with their content and letter form. Disturbed by the new perplexity the above mentioned scholars suggested an alternative epoch in the third century AD (for inscs. 3, 4 Waddington; for inscs. 3, 4, 6, 7 Brünnow and Prentice) and thus the existence of two eras. Brünnow called attention to the activity of Philip the Arab (AD 244-249) in neighbouring Shuhba and, by linking the era of Shakka with that of Shuhba, fixed it in the year AD 242.<sup>34</sup> In his treatment concerning this era, Jones<sup>35</sup> put the foundation of the city in AD 272, since he ascribed it to the emperor Aurelian (AD 270-275). His argument was based on his identification of Shakka with Neapolis (and Sheikh Miskin with Maximianopolis), as well as the restoration by Waddington of the name of Aurelian in an extremely damaged Latin inscription from Shakka.<sup>36</sup> Two of Waddington's considerations – the title "Germanicus" and the mention of his opponents Alemans – which eliminated any other candidate except for Aurelian, can easily be applied to Maximian too. The latter was called "Germanicus" repeatedly for his successful campaigns against the Alemans.<sup>37</sup> In fact the epithet "restitutor orbis", although not attested in connection with Maximian, could perfectly escort his name, if it is taken here to mean the imperial refounder.<sup>38</sup>

In the present state of knowledge the hypothesis of two eras seems tempting and up to a point convenient. If one adheres to an epoch in the late third-early fourth

31. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, pp. 122-23.

32. Jones, *Cities*, p. 465, note 82; Robert (supra note 25), p. 313; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 60, note 279.

33. Waddington, p. 506, no. 2159; *PA* III, pp. 305-306; *AAES* III, p. 296. The time of Agrippa II's death is unknown. But if the reckoning basis of his regnal years surmised by the inscriptions and coins bearing his name is right, he was still alive in AD 92/93. For this issue see chapter on Regnal Years, inscr. no. 55.

34. *PA* III, p. 306. However, year AD 242, suggested also by Avi-Yonah (*Holy Land*, p. 117), cannot be considered as the epoch of the Philippopolitan era since Philip the Arab became emperor in AD 244.

35. A.H. M. Jones, "The Urbanization of the Ituraean Principality", *JRS* 21 (1931), pp. 273-74.

36. Waddington, p. 503, no. 2137: [L. Domitius Aurelianus pius felix [A]ug. Ge[r]manicus [maximus]./ [Gothicus maximus, pont. max., tri]bunicie potestatis, pate[r patriae]/, [fortissimus et indulgentissimus im]p., restitutor orbis, Alem[annorum victor].

37. *RE* XIV, 2 (1930), cols. 2495-96 and 2498, s.v. Maximianus (W. Enßlin); Cagnat, p. 233.

38. M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas. A Historical Study of Aes Coinage in the Roman Empire, 49 B.C.-A.D. 14* (London 1978), p. 215, note 6 and p. 265, where the institution "restitutio" is considered a synonym for refoundation (second deductio).

centuries AD (AD 287 or 302) for the five inscriptions (nos. 3-7), a hint for the era of the inscription with the highest era year numeral, E.P.A. no. 521, could be furnished by the evidence in Shuhba (see above). The latter, although it used a local era inaugurated between AD 244 and 249, switched to that of provincia Arabia at least in the sixth century AD. This is a logical process in view of the wide-ranging use of the provincial era. But inscription no. 7 demonstrates that the local era of Shakka was still valid in the sixth century AD. If, however, the year numeral 568 without any reference to the era in use (“ἔτους τῆς πόλεως”), as expected, were converted according to the era of provincia Arabia, it would produce a year slightly discordant with the given indiction. Incongruity between the indiction number and other dating particles is observed in some sixth and seventh centuries AD inscriptions dated by the era of provincia Arabia. In addition, the seventh century AD epigraphical evidence dated according to the provincial era makes the date AD 674 plausible. For these reasons the building inscription dated to era year 568 is classified under those dated by the era of provincia Arabia (no. 521).

One of the sixth century AD inscriptions (no. 7) and two others with the year numeral missing or not recorded<sup>39</sup> show that Julian months were used in Shakka. The calendar underlying this nomenclature should have been affected by the Graeco-Arabic one of the province, especially in terms of the year beginning. Noteworthy is, for example, in one inscription (see note 39a) the designation of the day by counting back from the Idus of March, that is according to the Roman day designation system. The Roman counting practice is of importance in this particular text since the latter styles the site as “κώμη” (village).<sup>40</sup> This implies, as Waddington rightly observed, that part of the original population of the town, before it was raised to a city by the emperor Maximian, was of Latin origin (soldiers of a Roman garrison).

#### 4. Burâk (Constantia)

Two inscriptions recording tomb construction from Burâk (nos. 8, 9) in the northernmost Trachonitis are also dated in the early years of a city era (“ἔτους τῆς πόλεως”). Burâk has been identified in the relevant bibliography with Constantia,<sup>41</sup> mentioned by Georgius Cyprius<sup>42</sup> and Hierocles,<sup>43</sup> or Constantina/Constantiane of Notitia Episcopatum and the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon.<sup>44</sup> The name of the city (Constantia) and the existence of nobles (Flavii) urged the scholars to assign the foundation of this city to the imperial generosity of Constantine the Great (especially AD 325-337) or his son Constantius II (AD 337-361). Although it seems reasonable to associate the era with this imperial foundation of the city, the long time span involved and the lack of indictions prevent any closer fixing of the epoch of the era.<sup>45</sup>

39. a) Πρὸ ζ' ἰδῶν Μαρ(τίων) πέπτωκεν τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιστοίλιον καὶ ὄχλου γενομένου τῆς κώμης ἐν τῇ θεάτρῳ.... (Waddington, p. 502, no. 2136).

b) Οἶκος τῆς ἀγ[ί]ας ἐ[ν]δόξου [Θε]οτόκου Μαρίας ἐκ προσ[φ]ορ[ᾶς] Ἀμέ[ρ]ου Κάρσου Μάνου ἐκ[τί]σθε, [ἐ]πι[τ]ι[μ]ῆ[ι] τοῦ ὀσιου(άτου) Θεοδώ[ρ]ου, ἐν μ[ηνί] Ὀκτωβ[ρί]ῳ, ἰνδ...], ἔτου[ς]... (Waddington, p. 506, no. 2160a).

40. In view of this information the role of Maximian in the aggrandizement of the city is clearly that of a re-founder.

41. Waddington, pp. 574-76, nos. 2537 a,b; *RE IV*, 1 (1900), col. 952, s.v. Contantia no. 2 (Bentzinger).

42. *Georgius Cyprius* 1071.

43. *Synecdemus* 723. 2.

44. See supra note 35, p. 273, note 9.

45. Schwartz, *NGG*, p. 377, note 3; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 62, note 285.

On the basis of these two inscriptions, the calendar initially combined with the era should be one using the Macedonian month nomenclature and order.

## 5. Khirbet Ma'on (Nirim)

The dates of three epitaphs from Khirbet Ma'on (Nirim) (nos. 10-12) and of another one (no. 13) uncovered on the Mount of Olives are also based on a city era obviously associated with the history of this site, since no other era agrees with the chronological data of these inscriptions.<sup>46</sup>

Khirbet Ma'on (Nirim) lies within the territory of the ancient "Saltus Constantiniaces".<sup>47</sup> It is located on the site of the ancient fort Menois,<sup>48</sup> chief town of this estate mentioned in *Codex Theodosianus*.<sup>49</sup> The evidence available about this frontier fort, with a force of "equites promoti illyriciani" permanently stationed there and a civil settlement at the nearby Nirim, is meagre. Thus, any inquiry about the nature of the era should focus on the history of the "Saltus" itself. The creation of the "Saltus Constantiniaces" followed the establishment of the "Limes Palaestinae" in the area (generally assigned to Diocletian's territorial reforms.<sup>50</sup> The term "saltus" applied to this land implies that this unit was owned either by the emperor or a private landlord and administered by "procurator saltuum" or "res privata".<sup>51</sup> Alt<sup>52</sup> wondered whether its name is an allusion to the emperor Constantine the Great who also endowed the port of Gaza, Maiumas, with the rights of an independent city naming it Constantia.<sup>53</sup> In doing so, Constantine would follow the tradition of his predecessors to found or refund cities and the tendency to grant them their own names.<sup>54</sup> In this case the dynastic name might also commemorate the conversion of the saltus into a city.<sup>55</sup>

If one ascribes the formation or refoundation of the saltus to Constantine the Great or his son Constantius, the most suitable period for this would be AD 325-337 (when Constantine was the undisputed monocrator of the empire), or AD 337-361 (during Constantius II's reign). Then the effort for the correlation of the year numerals with the indictions – supposing that the calendar in use is that of Gaza (due to its proximity to Kh. Ma'on) – would fix the epoch of the era on 28 October AD 331, 346 or 361. Year AD 361, though, can be eliminated as Constantius, during his campaign against his rival Julian, got seriously sick and died on 3 November AD 361.<sup>56</sup> So, the

46. Y.H. Landau, "Unpublished Inscriptions from Israel: a Survey", *Acta of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress, Cambridge 1967* (Oxford 1971), p. 388.

47. *Georgius Cyprius* 1026: "Σάλτων Κωνσταντινιᾶκῆς / Σάλτων Κωνσταντινιᾶκῆς"; *Notitia Dignitatum* 73. 19; Eusebius, *Onomastikon* 130. 7; Jones, *Cities*, p. 464, note 74, where all the extant evidence has been summarized.

48. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 162; idem, *Gazetteer*, p. 78 (Maon II); B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Giudea e Neghev* (SBFCollMin 24, Jerusalem 1983), p. 179.

49. *Codex Theodosianus* VII. 4. 30 (23 March AD 409).

50. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, pp. 120-21 and 162.

51. A.H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire (284-602): a Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, 2nd ed., vol. I (Oxford 1973), pp. 413 and 713.

52. A. Alt, "Limes Palaestinae I. Die römische Grenzmark am Südrand Palästinas", *PJ* 26 (1930), p. 78, note 1.

53. Jones (supra note 51), p. 720; idem, *Cities*, p. 280; Glucker, p. 43.

54. Jones (supra note 51), pp. 719-20.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 720.

56. *RE IV*, 1 (1900), col. 1094, s.v. Constantius no. 4 (Seeck).

two alternative epochs (AD 331, 346) suggested above seem quite satisfactory for two (nos. 10, 12) out of the three inscriptions, but cannot be applied to inscription no. 11.

The burial inscription from the Mount of Olives (Viri Galilei, Jerusalem, no. 13) having an analogous style and a similar dating formula (sequence of dating particles, Macedonian months and inverted year numeral) is grouped with the inscriptions of Saltus Constantiniaces. The year numeral although not designated as year of the city era (“ἔτους τῆς πόλεως”) agrees, if converted, with the suggested epochs. There is no way, however, to check whether this epitaph was originally set up in Jerusalem.

1. *SHUHBA (Philippopolis)* block  
Bibl. *AAES* III, pp. 309-10, no. 395.

Ἵπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν κυρί-  
ων Μ(άρκων) Ἰουλίῶν Φιλίππων Σεβ(αστῶν),  
ἐπ<ι> μελοομένων Ἰουλίου Σεντίου  
Μάλχου καὶ Ἀμωνίς κὲ Ἀλεξάν-  
5 δρου, βουλ(ευτῶν), προεδρία Μαρρί-  
νου, ἔτους πρώτου τῆς πόλεω-  
ς.

**Date:** 1 C.E. = 22 March AD 244 – 21 March AD 245.

*Comments:* Whereas Philip Senior's father, Marinus, is deified in most of the extant inscriptions, in this text he is alive and presides over the city's magistrates (K. Butcher, *INJ* 9[1986-7], p. 75).

2. *SHEIKH MISKIN* block  
Bibl. Waddington, pp. 551-52, no. 2413.

-----  
Ἰουλίου Φι-  
λίππου  
τὸ μ<ν>η<με>ῖ-  
ον ἔκτισεν,  
ἔτους δ' τῆς  
πόλεως.

**Date:** The year 4 of the city cannot be converted into Julian date, since the epoch of the era has not yet been established. For the relevant discussion see the text above, pp. 320-21.

3. *SHAKKA (Maximianopolis)* three blocks walled in a funerary tower  
Bibl. Wetzstein, pp. 301-303, no. 129; Waddington, p. 504, no. 2145.

- a. Βάσσοις ἑῆς πατρὸς μέγα κύδεος  
ἀγλαὸν ὄμμα ἐκ σφετέρου κα-  
μάτοιο γεωπονίης τέ μ' ἔδει-  
μεν οἷ τ' αὐτῷ παιδείεσσι θ' ὁ-

5 μῶς κεδνῇ τε γυναικὶ μνήμ'  
 ἀγανόν· βουλαῖσι δ' αἰεζώοιο θεοῖο  
 γηραλέους πάντας μάλα δέξο-  
 μαι, εὖτ' ἂν ἕκαστος τέρμα πο-  
 τ < ε > σφέτερον βιοτῆς πεπρωμέ-  
 10 νον ἔλθῃ. Εὐτύχι Βάσσε.  
 Ἐτελέσθη ἔτους τῆς πόλ(εως) σα' .

- b. Αὐτῷ καὶ τεκέεσσι καὶ ἡ πι-  
 νυτῇ με γυναικὶ ἐξ ιδίων  
 κτεάνων πολλὰ πονησά-  
 μενος Βάσσος τύμβον ἔ-  
 5 τευξεν, ἐρισθενὲς ἔρμα πό-  
 ληος, ὃν βαθὺ γῆρας ἔλοι  
 τέκνα τε γηθόμενον· αὐ-  
 τὰρ ὑπερθεν ἐμεῖο πελιά-  
 σι καλὸν ἔδειμεν, κόσμου  
 10 τηλεφανῇ πύργον ἀριπρε-  
 πέος.
- c. Βάσσος Ἀβουρίοιο πονήσα-  
 το τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μὲν χάρ-  
 ματα, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς εὐρή-  
 μενος ὁδύνας· ἀλλὰ  
 5 μιν παῖδάς τε ἐοὺς καὶ αἰ-  
 δοῖν παρὰ κοιτὴν δέχε-  
 ο γηράσῃντ < α > ς ΕΛΛΩC, πό-  
 τνια νύμφη καὶ < ψ > υχὰς  
 προὔπεμπε, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥα-  
 10 δάμανθος, Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) γ(εννᾶ)?, ρθ'.

**Date:** a. 71 C.E. = 22 March AD 357 – 21 March AD 358 or 22 March AD 372 – 21 March AD 373.  
 c. 109 C.E. = 22 March AD 395 – 21 March AD 396 or 22 March AD 410 – 21 March AD 411.

4. *SHAKKA (Maximianopolis)* block  
 Bibl. Waddington, pp. 505-506, no. 2158.

+ Οἶκος ἁγίων ὀθλοφόρων μαρτύρων Γεωργίου καὶ τῶν  
 σὺν αὐτῷ ἁγίων. Ἐ[κ π]ρ[οσφ]ωρ(ᾶς) Τιβερίνου ἐπισκ(όπου), ἔκτισεν  
 ἐκ θε-  
 μελίων τῷ ἐ[ρ]λατίῳ καὶ τὴν π[ρ]ο[σ]θή[κ]ην τοῦ ναοῦ,  
 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε', ἔτους σξγ', σπουδῇ δὲ Γεωργίου καὶ Σεργίου  
 μεγάλου  
 5 διακ(όνων).

**Date:** 26 < 5 > C.E., 15th ind.= 1 September AD 551 – 21 March AD 552 or 1 September AD 566 – 21 March AD 567 or 263 C.E., 1 < 2 > th ind.= 1 September AD 549 – 21 March AD 550 or 1 September AD 564 – 21 March AD 565.



*Comments:* The discordance between the indiction year and the year numeral can be remedied if one emends the era year from CΞΓ to CΞE (*PA* III, p. 338) or the indiction year from IE to IB.

5. *SHAKKA (Maximianopolis)* fragment of a block  
Bibl. M. Dunand, *RB* 41 (1932), p. 400, no. 4.

--- ο]ν διακ(όνων) εὐσεβ  
-- ἔτους τῆς (πόλεως) σζ(?).

**Date:** 290 (?) C.E. = 22 March (?) AD 576 – 21 March AD 577 or 22 March (?) AD 591 – 21 March AD 592.

*Comments:* The drawing as well as the transliteration of the inscription given by Dunand do not permit an exact reading of the year numeral.

6. *SHAKKA (Maximianopolis)* block  
Bibl. *AAES* III, pp. 295-97, no. 377.

+ Φερμῖνος Ἡρακλίου, προτ(εύων?) τῶν  
Φερμῖνου, ἐξ ιδίων ἔκτισεν τὸ στά-  
βλον καὶ τοὺς δύο τρικλίνους, ἔτ(ους) τ(ῆς) π(όλεως) τ'. +

**Date:** 300 C.E. = 22 March AD 586 – 21 March AD 587 or  
22 March AD 601 – 21 March AD 602.

7. *SHAKKA (Maximianopolis)* block (?)  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 506, no. 2159; *PA* III, p. 343.

+ Ἡλίας Κασσισίου Τιζάλου διάκ(ονος), ἐξ ιδί-  
ων ἔκτισεν τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου  
τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ ἀφήσεως ἁμαρτιῶν,  
ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπριλίου, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιδ', ἔτους τῆς πόλ(εως) τι'. +

**Date:** April 310 C.E., 14th ind. = April AD 596 or 611.

8. *BURÂK (Constantia)* block  
Bibl. Waddington, pp. 575-76, no. 2537a.

Ἔτους ε' τῆς πό-  
λεως, Ἀπελλέου  
ιζ', Φλ(άβιοι) Εὐνομος  
καὶ Ἀγριππῖνος, υἱοὶ  
5 Σαυαδάνου Σαυάν(ου),  
ἐτελίωσαν τὸ μ-  
νημῖον, δηναρίων +  
τὸ δὲ ἀν <ά> (λ)ω/μ <α> (left dovetail)  
(δηνάρια) φ' (?). (right dovetail)

**Date:** 17 Apellaios 5 C.E. = Between AD 330 and 366.

*Comments:* If the foundation of this city took place either in the reign of Constantine the Great (especially AD 325-337) or in that of his son Constantius (AD 337-361), then an approximate date of the inscription would lie between AD 330 and 366.

9. *BURĀK (Constantia)* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 576, no. 2537b.

Ἔτους η´, Περιτίου  
ι´, Φλ(άβιοι) Καπίτων  
καὶ Ναιραῖος Νατάρου Καπούνου, β(ουλευταί),  
μετὰ τὸ ΔΙΙΜCΘΑΙ  
5 συνελθόντες τὸ  
μνημῖον ἐποίησαν.

**Date:** 10 Peritios 8 C.E. = Between AD 333 and 369.

10. *KHIRBET MA'ON (Nirim)* slab  
Bibl. Unpublished. Israel Antiquities Authority.

+ Θίκη τοῦ μακ(αρίου) +  
Ζήνονος τοῦ πρ(εσβυτέρου).  
Ἀνεπά(η) μην(ι) Ξανθ(ικῶ)  
κ´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια´, ἔτ(ους) τῆς πόλ(εως)  
5 βλσ´. +

**Date:** 20 Xanthikos 232 C.E., 11th ind. = 15 April AD 563 or 578.

11. *KHIRBET MA'ON (Nirim)* slab  
Bibl. Unpublished. Israel Antiquities Authority.

+ Ἀνεπά(η) κ(αὶ) ὁ μακ(άριος) Ἡλί-  
ας μον(αχός), μην(ι) Δύστ(ρω)  
ιε´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιβ´, ἔτ(ους) τῆς π-  
όλ(εως) νσ´ + κοιμ(ηθεῖς)  
5 κ(αὶ) αὐτ(ός) ENTAYCTS

**Date:** 15 Dystros 250 C.E., <14>th ind. = 10/11 March AD 581 or 596.

*Comments:* Among the three inscriptions from Khirbet Ma'on this is the only one whose date, converted according to the two suggested epochs, does not give a year numeral compliant with the indiction number. Thus, 10/11 March AD 581 or 596 fall in the fourteenth and not in the twelfth indiction.

12. *KHIRBET MA'ON (Nirim)* slab  
Bibl. Unpublished. Israel Antiquities Authority.

+ Ἀνεπάησαν  
+ αἱ μακαριώταται

+ Γρηγορία κ(αι) Ἀμνεζία  
 + ἐν μηνὶ Ὑπερβ(ερεταίῳ) ιδ´, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
 5 ε´, τοῦ ενσ´ ἔτ(ους) τῆς πόλ(εως)].

**Date:** 14 Hyperberetaios 255 C.E., 5th ind. = 11 October AD 586 or 601.

13. *JERUSALEM (Mount of Olives, Viri Galilei)* block (?)  
 Bibl. Unpublished.

+ Ἀνεπάε ὁ ἐν ἀγί-  
 οῖς Φλ(αούϊος) Εὐσέβις ἐν  
 μηνὶ Δισίου κε´, ἰν(δικτιῶνος) β´,  
 τοῦ ἔτους ηξς´, {ἰν(δικτιῶνος) β´}.

**Date:** 25 Daisios 268 C.E., 2nd ind. = 19 June AD 599 or 614.

## Chapter 13

### THE HEGIRA (MUHAMMADAN) ERA

The epoch of the Muhammadan era has been established on the 15th or 16th of July AD 622.<sup>1</sup> The uncertainty concerning the day is due to the slight discord between the astronomical and the popular calculations regarding the new moon which announced the new month.<sup>2</sup> It is the accounts of Oriental astronomers which fix the departure of the era on Thursday, 15 July AD 622, since they synchronized the epoch with dates according to the Seleucid and Jezdegerd eras. On the contrary, the Muslim calendar shifts the reckoning basis a day forward (Friday, 16 July) in compliance with the observation of the new moon by the population. The fact that the Muslim day is calculated from one sunset to the next<sup>3</sup> may also account for divergencies in converting into Christian dates.

The occasion for the inauguration of this era is Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina.<sup>4</sup> In fact, this historical event occurred 68 days later on Rebi I 8 (=20 September).<sup>5</sup> Consequently, the epoch of the era is conventional and adjusted to work within the local calendar pattern. Since the era was put into use by the caliph Omar Ibn el-Khatib<sup>6</sup> in AD 637, that is several years after the event, there was enough time to work out all the aspects involved. In doing so, the caliph aimed at a new chronological system which would put an end to the chaotic situation prevailing in the time reckoning of the area. Candidates for the epoch of the new era were Prophet's birthday, Prophet's vocation or Prophet's flight. The Arabic name of the era "tarih el hidjra" (year of the flight) implies that the last one was chosen.<sup>7</sup>

**Calendar:** The calendar<sup>8</sup> linked with Hegira is a lunar one comprising twelve months bearing Muslim names of alternately 30 and 29 days (354 days). Every three years one more day is intercalated at the end of the last month to compensate for the 24 hours missed in rounding out the duration of the year during this period. In the 30-year lunar cycle 11 are the leap (kabish) years: 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29.

The months do not stand in constant relation to the seasons. The month begins with the appearance of the new moon. Its observation may fail by one or two days. This difficulty accounts for the discrepancies in the dates found in the literary sources. Fortunately, this confusion can be put aside if the week day is mentioned. The week days are designated by ordinal numerals<sup>9</sup> like the Jewish ones.

1. For July 15 or 16 see Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, pp. 258-59; Y. Meimaris, "The Arab (Hijra) Era Mentioned in Greek Inscriptions and Papyri from Palestine", *GA* 3 (1984), pp. 177-78. For July 16 see Archimandrite Hippolytos, "Ιστορική και μαθηματική χρονολογία", *Nea Sion* 18 (1923), p. 15; G.L. Arvanitakis, *Chronometrie Musulmane*, 1st pt. (Athens 1934), pp. 12-13; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 225.

2. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, pp. 258-59.

3. Ibid.; Arvanitakis (supra note 1), p. 11; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 226.

4. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 258; Arvanitakis (supra note 1), p. 12; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 225.

5. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 259; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 225.

6. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 258; Arvanitakis (supra note 1), p. 13; Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 225-26; Meimaris (supra note 1), p. 177.

7. Ginzel, *Handbuch* III, p. 258; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 225.

8. Arvanitakis (supra note 1), pp. 8-10; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 180.

9. Arvanitakis (supra note 1), p. 11.

**The inscriptions:** The Hegira era is attested in Palestine in only one inscription from Hammat Gader (no. 1). The text refers to the renovation of the hot baths in the area by the Ummayyad caliph Mu'awiya in AD 662. The date is given firstly according to the era of Gadara in detail (including Roman month, day of the month, day of the week, indiction and year numeral in ascending order preceded by the phrase “ἐτους τῆς κολωνίας”) and secondly, according to the Hegira era consisting of the genitive “ἐτους” and the year numeral (in descending sequence) introduced by the formula “κατ’ Ἀραβας”. The conversion of the dating elements of both systems into Christian dates proves that there is a perfect correspondence between the two eras.

The expression “κατ’ Ἀραβας” is rather typical for the designation of the Hegira era, as is also attested in seven papyri<sup>10</sup> found, among others, at Nessana and dated according to this era. These papyri consist of “entagias”, that is, requisitions of taxes<sup>11</sup> and their texts are bilingual: Arabic and Greek. In the Greek text the dating formula includes Roman month, indiction and the expression “κατ’ Ἀραβας” followed by the Hegira year numeral in descending order, while in the Arabic text the Arabic lunar month and the year of the Hegira era are mentioned. The only exception to this rule is Kraemer’s papyrus no. 56, where the Muhammadan year 67 given in the Arabic text is connected in the Greek text not to the Hegira era, but to year 581 of the era of provincia Arabia (referred as “ἐτους κατὰ Ἑλούσης”) and the Macedonian month Peritios. In some cases (Kraemer’s pap. nos. 61, 62, 63) the Roman month during which the Greek text was written does not coincide with the Arabic month mentioned in the Arabic text.

It must be noted that the expression “κατ’ Ἀραβας” is not used merely for the designation of the Hegira era, but is also related to Graeco-Arabic months usually combined with the Eleutheropolitan or Gazaean eras<sup>12</sup> in some inscriptions from Beersheba and the Negev.

**Conversion rule:** Since the Muhammadan year is eleven days shorter than the Julian one (the difference amounting to one year every 33 years), the conversion of a Hegira date into a Julian one is not an easy task. A series of calculations are necessary to find out whether a certain year is common or leap (kabish). Mathematical formulae can also furnish a rough equivalence between the Hegira year (Hy) and the Julian one (Jy):

$$Jy = (Hy - \frac{Hy}{33}) + 622. \text{ }^{13} \text{ Arvanitakis' } ^{14} \text{ sophisticated formula}$$

$$\text{Julian date} = 0,970202 (Hy + \frac{Jy}{354,367}) + 621,536$$

10. Kraemer, *Nessana 3*, nos. 60-66; Meimaris (supra note 1), pp. 180-83.

11. K.A. Worp in his article “Hegira Years in Greek, Greek-Coptic and Greek-Arabic Papyri”, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), pp. 107-15 has demonstrated that the use of the Hegira era in Greek, Greek-Coptic and Greek-Arabic documents of Arab-conquered Egypt and Palestine seems restricted to fiscal documents.

12. See also chapter “Era of Gaza”, pp. 120-21, note 124 and chapter “Era of Eleutheropolis”, p. 307 and note 16.

13. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 226.

14. Arvanitakis (supra note 1), pp. 22-23; *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 9, p. 658, s.v. Ἑγίρα (N. Moschopoulos).

involves a number of fine and careful mathematical calculations. However, the use of comparative tables<sup>15</sup> correlating the data of Muhammadan dates with their equivalents in the Christian chronology is easier and more effective.

1. *HAMMAT GADER* (area of *Emmatha Gadarorum*)  
See P.E. no. 10.

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15. W. Haig, *Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates* (London 1932), tables I, II and III; Grumel, *Chronologie*, Tableau chronologique III, pp. 280-96 and tableaux spéciaux VIII, p. 307.

## **PART III**

### **DATING BY CONSULS AND EMPERORS**

Different traditions and historical events in the Western and Eastern parts of the Roman empire might explain the frequent occurrence of chronological systems associated with consuls and emperors in the respective areas.

In the West the Republican practice of dating by consuls was maintained in the imperial period too with the sole modification that the emperor could also hold this office (along with the civilians). Although the count of the successive imperial tribunates, based more or less on the sequence of regnal years, offers another rather secure dating method, the consulate proves to be the most widespread and standardized means for time reckoning. Of course, combination of consulate and tribunate in the same source enables a double check of the chronological data.

In the East, after the few texts dated by consulate and/or tribunate, the most popular reckoning means based on the career of emperors is computation according to their regnal years. That practice was familiar to Greeks and Greek-speaking populations following similar systems earlier employed by Egyptian, Lydian and Persian monarchs.





## Chapter 1

### TRIBUNICIAN POWER

The tribunician power, *tribunicia potestas*, was first conferred on the founder of the Principate, Octavian Augustus,<sup>1</sup> and was subsequently granted to every emperor upon his accession to the throne. The tribunician power as well as the proconsulate were the main supports of the imperial sovereign in terms of civil magistracy.<sup>2</sup> The right to this power was perpetual, renewed automatically every new regnal year,<sup>3</sup> and the enumeration was only a formal procedure to enable the ruler to count the years of his reign.<sup>4</sup> The annual character was eventually transferred to it from the consulate which became optional for the “princeps” from 23/22 BC.<sup>5</sup> The count of the tribunician years, expressed by numerals added next to the ablative “tribunicia potestate” in the Latin texts and the genitive “δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ...” in the Greek inscriptions, offers another dating reference without being a dating system by itself.

That the record of the tribunate was not conceived as a dating system is implied by the fact that its mention is constantly associated with other reckoning styles, such as the consulship (even in the case of Octavian Augustus<sup>6</sup>) and the era dates. The frequent co-existence of the tribunate with other chronological devices is also due to the fact that it was an indispensable part of the standardized imperial titulature. With regard to its position in the formula comprising the imperial names and titles, the tribunate followed the consulate in the time of Augustus, but it was shifted to a more advanced place – introducing thus the magisterial offices – from Tiberius (AD 14-37) onwards.<sup>7</sup>

The departure point for reckoning the tribunician imperial year was not permanent, so confusion is inevitable.<sup>8</sup> Although for Augustus it is the day he was granted for the first time his annual “tribunicia potestas”, the counting basis for his successors down to Trajan is their accession day (“dies imperii”). Trajan, after renewing his tribunician power at various dates (due partially to the circumstances prevailing during his accession), finally settled its starting point on 10 December, which was the old tribunicial’s new year day. His successor maintained the same day for the start of the next tribunician year. This principle, however, was not respected in the provinces during the turbulent third century AD.<sup>9</sup>

1. There is a controversy concerning the date of this event on the grounds of a vague ancient testimony. It is alleged that the “jus auxilii” of the tribunes bestowed upon Augustus in 28 BC, paved the way for the full “tribunicia potestas” granted to him on occasion of the reforms of 23 BC. About this, see F. de Martino, *Storia della costituzione romana IV*, 1st pt. (Napoli 1974), pp. 169-73; J. Gaudemet, *Institutions de l'Antiquité*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1982), p. 453.

2. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht II*, 2, pp. 873-74; Gaudemet (supra note 1), p. 455.

3. Cagnat, p. 161.

4. *Dio Cassius* 53.17: “δι’ αὐτῆς (τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς δημαρχικῆς) καὶ ἡ ἐξαριθμῆσις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ’ ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχούντων λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει”. Gaudemet (supra note 1), p. 461 and note 9.

5. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht II*, 2, pp. 795-96.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 796 and note 2.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 783.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 796-805.

9. Cagnat, p. 162.



3. *GERASA* a panel from the attic of the Triumphal Arch  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 401-402, no. 58.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. (on the upper fillet)  
Υπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
υἱοῦ θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ  
Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερέος μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ', ὑπάτου  
τὸ γ', πατρὸς πατρίδος καὶ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς τοῦ  
σύνπαντ[ος] αὐτοῦ οἴκου, ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχέων πρὸς τῷ τῶν Χρυσορόα,  
τῶν πρότερον Γερασηνῶν, ἐκ διαθήκης Φλαουτοῦ  
5 Ἀγρίππου τὴν πύλην σὺν θριάμβῳ. Ἔτους βλρ'.

**Date:** Hadrian's 14th trib. pot., 3rd cons., 192 Ger.E. = 10 December AD 129  
– October AD 130.

*Comments:* Hadrian's 14th tribunician year started on the 10th of December AD 129. According to Welles this inscription as well as our nos. 4, 5, 6 and a Latin one (Welles, *Gerasa*, no. 30) furnish positive evidence that "Hadrian visited Gerasa in the winter of AD 129/130, and... that he passed at least part of the winter there". The year according to the Gerasene era coincides perfectly with the tribunician data. The consulate is not of particular chronological help since it had been assumed by Hadrian ten years earlier (in AD 119). If the above mentioned inscriptions had been set during the emperor's stay, always desirable, the chronological span of the text's composition could be reduced to between 10 December AD 129 and the early part of AD 130.

4. *GERASA* circular pedestal  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 424-25, no. 143.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. (on necking)  
Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ (on shaft)  
Παρθικοῦ υἱὸν θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνὸν Τραϊαν[ο]ν  
Ἀδριανόν, [Σεβαστὸν] ἀρχιερέα μέγιστ[ο]ν,  
5 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας] τὸ δι', ὑπατον τὸ γ', πατέρα  
πατρίδος, τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κύριον ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχέων  
τῶν πρὸς τῷ Χρυσ[ο]ρόα τῶν πρότερον Γερασηνῶν]  
[--- ΑΠΑ -----].

**Date:** Hadrian's 14th trib. pot., 3rd cons. = 10 December AD 129 – October AD 130.

5. *GERASA* block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 425, no. 144.

Αὐτοκράτορ[α Καίσαρα θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ]  
Παρθικοῦ υἱὸν θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνὸν Τραϊανόν Ἀδριανόν Σεβαστόν,  
ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, δημαρχικῆς]  
ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ', ὑπατον τὸ γ', πατέρα π[ατρίδος, τὸν ἀγαθὸν  
Κύριον ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Χρυσορόα τῶν πρότερον

Γερασσηῶν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χ[ρόνου τῆς ἐπιδημίας αὐτοῦ ----- ]  
 5 καθίσαντα ἐγθάδε ἀγο[ρὰν δικῶν ----- ]  
 ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Φλαουῖου Φλάκκου ΔΗ[ ----- ]  
 ψήφισμα ἐγένετο εἰσηγησ[αμεν ----- ].

**Date:** Hadrian's 14th trib. pot., 3rd cons. = 10 December AD 129 – October AD 130.

6. *GERASA* upper part of a round pedestal  
 Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 425, no. 145.

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ Τραῖανοῦ υἱὸν  
 θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνὸν Τραῖανόν] Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστόν,  
 ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δι΄ ,  
 ὑπατον τὸ γ΄ , πατέρα πατρίδος, τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κύριον  
 5 Σόλων ὁ καὶ Παυλῖνος Μοιραγένους  
 [τῇ π[όλ]ε[ι] τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τ[ῶν] πρὸς τῷ Χρ[υσο]ρόγ[ῳ]  
 [τῶν πρότερον Γερασσηῶν].

**Date:** Hadrian's 14th trib. pot., 3rd cons. = 10 December AD 129 – October AD 130.

7. *GERASA*  
 See R.Y. no. 90.

8. *RAPHIA (area of)* slab  
 Bibl. D. Barag, *IEJ* 23 (1973), pp. 50-52.

[Αὐτ(οκράτορι)-Καίσα(ρι)-Μ(άρκῳ)-Αὐρ(ηλίῳ)  
 Σεουήρῳ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ,  
 Εὐσεβ(εῖ) - Εὐτυχ(εῖ) -  
 5 Σεβ(αστῷ) - δημ(αρχικῆς) - ἐξουσ(ίας) -  
 τὸ ιβ΄ - ὑπατος  
 τὸ γ΄ - ἀνθύπατ(ος) - π(ατήρ) π(ατρίδος).  
 Ἀπὸ ὄρων  
 Συρίας Παλαιστ(ίνης)]  
 10 [μίλια ....]

**Date:** Severus Alexander's 12th trib. pot., 3rd cons. = 10 December AD 232 – 9 December AD 233.

*Comments:* Severus Alexander's 12th tribunicia potestas began on 10 December AD 232, while the third consulship had been bestowed on him in AD 229.

## Chapter 2

### EMPEROR

The designation “imperator” (αὐτοκράτωρ), borne solely by the sovereign, is encountered in the imperial titulature twice: a) in the beginning of the formula as a “praenomen” and b) amid the other titles supplemented by a figure.<sup>1</sup> The latter type, although not a dating system in itself, helps in establishing a relative chronology and in connection with other dating particles enables cross-check in matters of chronology.

The figure, following the designation imperator, counts the imperial acclamations given by the army in appreciation of military victories won either by the emperor himself or his generals. As the emperor was granted the title of imperator upon his accession to the throne as the supreme head of the army, he was styled imperator II on the occasion of his first triumph and so on. Since the title was renewed only in connection with military exploits, there were imperial years crowded with repeated acclamations and long uneventful periods.<sup>2</sup>

After Caracalla (AD 198-217), the instances of recording the imperial salutations are rare. Monuments of the reigns of Gordian, Gallienus and Diocletian occasionally mention them.

Only two inscriptions (nos. 9, 10) from the newly created Roman province of Arabia refer to the imperial acclamations of Trajan among the other titles. The inscriptions were conspicuously encased in the city arch of Petra (AD 114) and in the North Gate of Gerasa (AD 114/5), respectively.

9. *PETRA*  
See T.P. no. 1.
10. *GERASA*  
See T.P. no. 2.

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1. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II, 2, pp. 767-70 and 781-82; Cagnat, pp. 158-59.

2. See for example Titus, Domitian, Trajan or Hadrian in Cagnat, pp. 190-97.

## Chapter 3

### CONSULSHIP

Dating by consuls was devised in Rome after the abolition of the kingship. The institution of the annual consulship shared by two persons was introduced already in 509 BC by the founders of the Republic, Brutus and Collatinus.<sup>1</sup> Both consuls, as substitutes for the king, had substantial powers in civil, military and religious affairs. However, consular authority was gradually limited and by the late third century AD their sole duties were some judicial functions, the honour of presiding at the senate and the provision of expensive games for the people.<sup>2</sup>

Until the foundation of the principate only patricians or non-aristocrats, who had excelled in one way or another, were elected to this supreme office.<sup>3</sup> Augustus as sole sovereign (in 30 BC) took the consulate, introducing thus the practice of imperial intervention in this institution too. From this moment onwards the consuls were nominated by the emperor. Imperial will turned out to be very decisive for the further career of this office and played a primary role in its extinction.<sup>4</sup> The last civilian to be promoted to the office in the West was Paulinus (AD 534) and in the East Basilios (AD 541). The emperors, however, continued to appoint themselves to the consulate until AD 642.<sup>5</sup>

Emperors after Augustus assumed the consulate as many times as they wished, while the most distinguished citizens had rarely three chances at it.<sup>6</sup> Tradition, rivalry between the co-regnants or popular and powerful subjects, the wish to introduce young members of the royal family or favourite citizens or the desire to support popular personalities were the main reasons urging the emperors to take the consulate repeatedly.<sup>7</sup> Additionally the anniversary of quinquennial or decennial years of a certain emperor could be celebrated by taking the consulate.

From the time of Caligula (AD 37) the emperors were nominated consuls either at the time of their accession or, more often, the following year or, very rarely, in their second regnal year. From the time of Maximinus (AD 236), the emperors were pronounced consuls on the next 1 January after their accession.<sup>8</sup> Their designation for repeated consulate occurred the year before the year of consulship. From the time of their designation till 31 December, i.e. the day before they entered the office, they bore the title of "consul designatus" (ὑπατος ἀποδεειγμένος) supplemented by the numeral corresponding to the forthcoming consulate.<sup>9</sup> The emperors usually handed over the office after a while to suffect consuls (consuls of lesser rank and of

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1. *RE IV*, 1 (1900), col. 1113, s.v. Consul (Kübler); Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 69; Stevenson, *Dictionary*, p. 266.

2. *RE IV*, 1 (1900) (supra note 1), cols. 1112, 1118-1125, 1130-1134; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, p. 1.

3. *RE IV*, 1 (1900) (supra note 1), col. 1114; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, p. 1.

4. Between 30 BC and AD 235 more than 1800 civilians became consuls. Between AD 284 and 395 half of the consuls were either the emperors themselves or belonged to the imperial family (126 against 127). Between AD 396 and 450 only 40 imperial consulates are listed against 70 taken by subjects. Finally, between AD 451 and 541 only 24 consulates were held by the imperial family whereas 110 by civilians (Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, p. 4).

5. C.-M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der althristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1917), p. 44; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 69; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 7 and 11-12.

6. *RE IV*, 1 (1900) (supra note 1), col. 1127; Cagnat, p. 163.

7. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, p. 23.

8. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 346.

9. Cagnat, p. 163.

even more restricted powers).<sup>10</sup> The institution of suffect consuls,<sup>11</sup> usually a step before the promotion to the ordinary consulate, offered the opportunity for more prominent citizens from the generals, aristocrats, bureaucrats and descendants of consuls to be honoured.

The practice of dating by reference to the eponymous consuls is the most important aspect for a discussion concerning chronology. Despite the abundance of suffect consuls, in each calendaric year there were two ordinary consuls nominated,<sup>12</sup> after whom the year was named (from 1 January – 31 December).<sup>13</sup> Until AD 203 suffect consuls occasionally dated official texts issued in Italy<sup>14</sup> and in the provinces (as shown below). This fact as well as the division of certain duties among the suffects of a specific year may account for the idea – implied by the ancient texts – of splitting up a calendaric year into two, three or six consulates (“nundina/nundinia”) with respective equal ordinary consular pairs.<sup>15</sup> Such a situation, if it ever existed, should in any case have come to an end before mid-fourth century AD, from which point onwards the ordinary consuls were in charge for the whole year.<sup>16</sup>

The lists of the consuls and their consulates compiled by modern scholars<sup>17</sup> are based on ancient texts (papyri, inscriptions), as well as ancient “consular fasti” and chronicles dated by consuls.

Dating by consuls was a standard practice and the dominant dating system especially in the West. Delay in the promulgation of the consuls, lack of them or ignorance resulted in post-consular dates,<sup>18</sup> i.e. dates reckoned on the basis of the latest known consulate. In the gap between the last civilian consulship of Basilus in AD 541 and the next one, held by Justin II in AD 566, the long use of post-consular dating lent to it the character of a proper chronological system<sup>19</sup> kept in use even after Justin II’s consulate. From AD 532 there were two ways to reckon post-consular dates: the *modus marcellinianus* which considered as the first post-consular year the one following the consulate and the *modus victorianus* which styled the very same consulate year as the first post-consular one.<sup>20</sup>

Regarding the formula employed in recording the consuls of a certain year the standardized norm in the fourth century AD comprised: a) “name (in ablative) + et + name (in ablative) + consulibus” [Latin texts], and b) “ὕπαρις + name (in genitive) + καὶ + name (in genitive) [Greek texts].<sup>21</sup> The order of the name reference was dictated

10. Cagnat, p. 163.

11. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II, 1, p. 92, note 8.

12. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, p. 6.

13. *RE* IV, 1 (1900) (supra note 1), col. 1130; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC-AD 337)* (London 1977), p. 309.

14. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, p. 3.

15. *RE* IV, 1 (1900) (supra note 1), col. 1128; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II, 1, pp. 82-87.

16. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 20-21.

17. Th. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* (1892, 1894, 1898); W. Liebenam, *Fasti consulares imperii romani von 30 v. Chr. bis 565 n. Chr. mit Kaiserliste und Anhang* (Bonn 1909); A. Degraffi, *I fasti consolari dell' impero romano dal 30 davanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo* (*Sussidi Eruditi* 3, Rome 1952); Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 346-54; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 102-617; P.M.M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180-235 n. Chr.)* (*Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology* VI, Amsterdam 1989).

18. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 65-66.

19. Kaufmann (supra note 5), p. 45.

20. *Ibid.*; Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 346, where there is further discussion regarding post-consular issues.

21. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, p. 63.

by the rank (emperor, civilian), the age (older or younger), the family status (married or not, father or not).<sup>22</sup> In general, after the division of the empire (AD 395) each part tended to record in the first place its own consul or to omit the colleague from the other part.<sup>23</sup>

Consular dating was for the first time officially challenged by Justinian's *Novel* 47 which imposed placing his regnal year next to the current consular and indiction years on all documents.<sup>24</sup>

## 1. Imperial Consulship

**The inscriptions:** Sixteen inscriptions (nos. 11-18 and 20-27) from provincia Arabia (mainly Gerasa, Bostra and Trachonitis) dated from the second to the fourth centuries AD and only two from the Palestinian sites of Raphia (no. 19) and El-Kursi (no. 28) of the third and sixth centuries AD, respectively, refer to or reckon by imperial consulships. This is an extremely meagre quantity in relation to the geographical and chronological span of the total inscriptions under consideration. Almost all the texts commemorate donation of public buildings and minor constructions (triumphal arches, nymphaeum, temple of Fortune, etc.) or mosaic embellishment financed by the whole community or by distinguished members of it.

The third century AD is a turning point regarding mention of the imperial consulship in the inscriptions. Although until the second century AD the consulate is only a part of the imperial titulature, in the third century AD it is dissociated from it and by standing apart has the merits of a conscious chronological system. The style of these later inscriptions clearly reveals that the emperors, deprived of almost all of their titles, were still mentioned as holders of the specific consulate in provincial towns. The need for a concisely dated text comprising all the information (donor, recipient, etc.) might account for the absence or the abolition of the pompous imperial titles.

Concerning the formula, the word “consul” – when part of the titulature – appears in various cases (“ὑπατος, ὑπάτου, ὑπατον”) in compliance with the syntax of the phrase, while the substantive “consulate” [“ὑπατ(ε)ίας, ὑπατ(ε)ία, ἐν ὑπατ(ε)ίᾳ”] is the characteristic clause from the third century AD onwards. In the cases of repeated enrollment in the office, the specific consular year is denoted through a Greek numeral (mainly cardinal but also ordinal) following the article “τό” in all inscriptions.

Reference to the second consul is attested from the third century AD onwards. In six out of the eight cases the colleagues of the emperors were their co-regnants and, since they were mostly Caesars, had to appear in the second place. Two civilians accompanied emperors in the office in AD 213 (Balbinus) and AD 236 (Africanus);

22. Kaufmann (supra note 5), p. 43; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II, 1, p. 90; *RE* IV, 1 (1900) (supra note 1), col. 1129.

23. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 64-65.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 7.



they were eminent personalities of long standing. Balbinus<sup>1</sup> was later promoted to the imperial throne.

Two inscriptions from Gerasa (nos. 13, 17) correlate the consulate with the corresponding year of the Gerasene era. The later one further synchronizes these chronological data with the equivalent regnal year of Commodus. Reckoning by regnal years was considered by Welles<sup>2</sup> not coincidental, but rather a proof of Commodus' dating practice in the East.

There is discordance between the first consulate of Mauricius and the indiction year with which it is combined on a mosaic inscription of the late sixth century AD at El-Kursi (no. 28). The fourth indiction occurred twice during this emperor's reign: in AD 585/6 and 600/1. Since the indiction is to be linked with Mauricius' first consulate, the later date should be excluded. Mauricius took the consulship for the first time on 25 December AD 583.<sup>3</sup> Consequently AD 585 would be his second post-consular year according to 'modus marcellinianus' and his third one in accordance with 'modus victorinus', but in any case not his first consulate. Y. Blomme,<sup>4</sup> accepting that AD 584 was his first consular year (i.e. he was "consul designatus" in the last six days of 583), proposed that a phrase indicating Mauricius' first post-consulate would have been included if there had been enough space (the letters of the last two lines are smaller and crowded). Blomme's computation method is confirmed by some Nessana papyri (see below).

The majority of the inscriptions dated by imperial consulship comes from the territory of provincia Arabia which from its foundation (AD 106) used a provincial era as the epigraphical evidence demonstrates. Zebiré in Trachonitis was located in the lands detached from Syria and bestowed upon Arabia between AD 195-214.<sup>5</sup> By AD 236 Kefr-Lahâ was part of Arabia.<sup>6</sup> El-Kursi in the sixth century AD belonged to the territory of Hippos,<sup>7</sup> which at that time employed a Pompeian era departing from 64 BC (see P.E. no. 1). Raphia in the third century AD should also have used its own era starting from 60 BC, as coins of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander imply, and a later inscription (AD 411) from that area alludes (see P.E. no. 142). The third and fourth century AD instances of dating by imperial consulship may be due to conservatism<sup>8</sup> or the wish to add more prestige to the undertaking recorded in the inscription by mentioning the emperors.

Some imperial consulships and post-consulships (of Anastasius in AD 517; Justin in AD 566, 569, 570, 570/1 and Mauricius in AD 590, 596) are also used in seven papyri from Nessana<sup>9</sup> recording legal transactions (contract, loan of money, questions of inheritance, etc.). There, the consulate or post-consulate is correlated with the equivalent regnal year, era year and indiction. The consistency in this practice might be a result of legal specifications and tradition. It is noteworthy that, regarding the problematic first consulship of Mauricius in papyri nos. 29 and 30 of Nessana, AD 584 is considered as the first consular year of Mauricius and his post-consulates are counted according to 'modus marcellinianus'.

1. Stevenson, *Dictionary*, p. 122.

2. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 406-407, no. 69.

3. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 346-47 where the problems concerning the first consulship of Mauricius are also discussed.

4. "Inscriptions grecques à Kursi et Amwas", *RB* 87 (1980), pp. 404-408 and note 3.

5. Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 57, note 258 and pp. 61-62.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 90, no. 33.

7. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 170.

8. Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 57.

9. Kraemer, *Nessana 3*, papyri nos. 17, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30.

11. *PETRA*  
See T.P. no. 1.
12. *GERASA*  
See T.P. no. 2.
13. *GERASA*  
See T.P. no. 3.
14. *GERASA*  
See T.P. no. 4.
15. *GERASA*  
See T.P. no. 5.
16. *GERASA*  
See T.P. no. 6.
17. *GERASA*  
See R.Y. no. 90.
18. *ZEBÎRÉ* block  
Bibl. Ewing, p. 134, no. 56.

Ἵπὲρ σωτηρίας κ(αὶ) αἰωνί-  
ου διαμονῆς τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτο-  
κράτορος Μ(ά)ρ(κου) Σεουήρου Ἀντω-  
νίνου Καίσαρος Βρ<ι>τανικοῦ, τ-  
5 ἀ Τύχῃα οἰκοδόμησαν Ἀρισ-  
τηνοὶ καὶ Ἰαχφίρηνοὶ οἱ ἀπὸ ἐποι-  
κίου Ἀβιβηνῶν καὶ Βάσσος, ὑπ(α)ρ(χ)ίας  
Σεουήρου τὸ δ' καὶ Β|αλβίνου β'.

**Date:** Caracalla's 4th and D. Caelius Balbinus' 2nd consulate = AD 213.

**Comments:** Caracalla's fourth consulship coincided with Balbinus' second assumption of the office. However, the plain appellation "Severus" to style this emperor is unusual (Waddington, p. 572, no. 2512).

19. *RAPHIA* (area of)  
See T.P. no. 8.

20. *KEFR-LAHĀ* big block  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 449, no. 1213; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 90, no. 33.

Ἵπερ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς [[τῶν κυρίων]] ἡμῶν  
[[αὐτοκρατόρων καيسάρων Γ(αίου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Μαξιμίνου καὶ Γ(αίου)  
Ἰουλ(ίου) Μαξιμου τοῦ]]  
υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Σεβ(αστῶν), ἐπὶ Πομπωνίου Ἰουλιανοῦ πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σε-  
β(αστῶν) ἀντιστρ(ατήγου), ὑπατείας [[Μαξιμίνου]]  
Ἀφρικανοῦ, οἱ κωμῆται ἔκτισαν ἐξ ιδίων τῶ κοινῷ καὶ ἐκ  
5 φιλοτιμίας τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ὀνομάτων,  
στρατηγείας Οὐλ(πίου) Σκαυριανοῦ. Ἰούν(ιος) Βάσσοις οὐετρ(ανός),  
δηνάρια τ· Φλαυ-  
ίου οὐετρ(ανοῦ) υἱοί, δηνάρια υ· Οὐλπ(ιος) Προυφείνος οὐε[τ]ρ(ανός),  
δηνάρια λ·.

**Date:** Maximinus' and M. Pupienius Africanus' consulate = AD 236.

*Comments:* Maximinus shared consulate with Africanus a year after he was raised to the supreme authority (AD 235).

21. *MSĒKEH* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, p. 417, no. 795<sup>4</sup>.

Ὑπατεία τῶν κυρίων ἡ-  
μῶν Φιλίππων Σεβ(αστῶν) ὥκο-  
(δομήθη . . . . .) Α.

**Date:** Philip I's and Philip II's consulate = 1 January AD 247 (or 248) – fall AD 249.

*Comments:* The exact year of bestowal of the Augustan title and first consulship on Philip Junior varies according to the scholars consulted (Littmann, *supra*; Cagnat, p. 218; Stevenson, *Dictionary*, pp. 624-25). It is reasonable to conjecture that he was associated with the consul's office the year his father entered it for the second time (AD 247). This honour, if it was not a consequence of the boy's proclamation as Augustus (AD 246 or 247), should soon have been followed by it. Thus, the inscription could be dated between the point the lad held both titles (AD 247/8) and the death of both him and his father in the autumn of AD 249.

22. *KHABAB (Habiba)* block (?)  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 425, no. 1134; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 57, note 258.

Ὑπατίας  
Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ η' καὶ  
Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ζ' Σεβ(αστῶν),  
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Οὐρος Αὐοῦδου, βου(λευτής),  
5 τὸ Τουχ(ε)ῖον ἐξ ιδίων  
ἐποίησεν.

**Date:** Diocletian's 8th and Maximian's 7th consulate = AD 303.

23. *DEIR-EL-LÉBEN* long block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 545, no. 2393.

Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγ(ούστου) τὸ ς' καὶ  
Κ[λ](αυδίου)  
Κωνσταντίνου ε[ὕγε]νεστάτου Καίσαρος α[ἰ]ω[νίων] Αὐγούστων,  
ἡ αὐλή καὶ ὁ . . . . . ε[ἰς] τὸν δεσπότην [καὶ] ἀνίκητον Ἥλιον  
θεὸν Αὖμον. Κάσσι(ο)ς Μαλίχαθος, κώμ(ης) Ῥειμέας, φυλ(ῆς) Χα-  
σητηνῶν,  
5 καὶ Παῦλος Μαξιμίῃνος, κώμ(ης) Μερδόχων, φυλ(ῆς) Αὐδηνῶν τὸ  
στ[έγος ἐκ]  
θεμελίων [καὶ] τὸ πανμέγεθες κτίσμα ἀνήγιραν ἀ[φειδῶς] ὑπη-  
<ρ> ἐτήσαντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν χρόνον, προνοία Αὖμου καὶ Ἀμελάθου,  
ιοὶ (sic) ἱερέων.

**Date:** Constantine I's 6th and Constantine II's 1st consulate = AD 320.

*Comments:* In AD 320, Constantine I the Great entered his 6th consulate and his eldest son, Constantine II or Junior, took this office for the first time.

24. *DJEDIL* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 432-33, no. 799<sup>1</sup>; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 57, note 258.

Ὑπατίῃ  
Κωνσταν-  
τίου τὸ ε' καὶ Κων-  
σταντίου τὸ α',  
Χόσετος, Μάρου υἱεί-  
5 ὅς (?), Μάθιος, θῆς [αὐ]-  
τοῦ . . . . .  
. . . τος ἀ(νάλω)μα (δηναρίων) μ(υριάδες) ι'.

Parts of the text in the dovetails and around tabula ansata.

**Date:** Constantius II's 5th and Constantius Gallus' 1st consulate = AD 352.

*Comments:* Augustus Constantius II's 5th consulate coincided with Caesar Constantius Gallus' first elevation to the office (AD 352). It is noteworthy that various sources attest next to this consular pair, an alternative pair, for the Western part of the empire (Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 238-39).

25. *ES-SANAMEIN* block  
Bibl. R. Savignac and F.M. Abel, *RB* n.s. 2 (1905), pp. 604-605, no. 22; *PA* III, p. 338.

Τοῦτο τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ περιστε-  
ρῶνος μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔγειρεν

- ✠ Σαβίνος Ζήνωνος ἄμα Μαξιμίνῳ ✠  
 5 συμβίῳ, Εὐσεβίου κόμιστος θυγατρ(ι),  
 καὶ Ζήνωνι καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Αὐγού-  
 στα, υἱοῖς, ἀπὸ τῶν κάτωθεν θεμε-  
 Χρηστὲ λίων μέχρις ὕψους, μνημοσύνης βοήθει  
 ἔνεκα, ἐν ὑπατείῳ τῶν δεσπο-  
 τῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου Αὐ-  
 10 γούστου τὸ ἑβδομον καὶ Κων- ✠  
 σταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτου  
 Καίσαρος τὸ τρίτον.

**Date:** Constantius II's 7th and Constantius Gallus' 3rd consulate = AD 354.

*Comments:* Caesar Constantius Gallus was holding his third consulate the year (AD 354) he was put to death, accused of cruelty by his uncle, Augustus Constantius II. The latter was sharing with him his 7th consular title (*RE* IV, 1 [1900], col. 1095, 1099, s.v. Constantius Gallus [O. Seeck]; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 242-43).

26. *NAHITE* block or slab  
 Bibl. *PA* III, p. 338; Waddington, p. 550, no. 2412k.

Φλ(αούιος) Μάξιμος ὠρδινάριο-  
 ς, ἐξ ἰδ(ι)ων καμ[ά]των ἔκτ-  
 ισεν τὸ μν[ημε]ῖον [κα]ὶ τὸ(ν) ἐπικί-  
 μενον πε[ρι]στ[ερ]ῶγα, ἐ[πι] ὑ[π]-  
 5 ατί(ς) Κ[ων]σταν[τίου] Αὐγ[ο]-  
 ύστου [τὸ] ἡ [καὶ] Ἰου[λιαν]οῦ  
 Κέ[σα]ρ(ος)/ τὸ /α'. (in the right margin)

**Date:** Constantius II's 8th and Julian's 1st consulate = AD 356.

*Comments:* Caesar Julian assumed his first consulship as Constantius II's colleague in AD 356. That year the latter was bestowed with this office for the eighth time (Cagnat, pp. 244-45; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 246-47).

27. *DĪBĪN* block  
 Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 152, no. 1164; *BE* in *REG* 47 (1934), p. 252.

Ἑπατεῖα + τῶν δεσ(ποτῶν)  
 Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ  
 καὶ Οὐάλεντος,  
 αἰωνίων Αὐγούστω[ν],  
 5 ἐκ καιλεύσεος τοῦ  
 κυρίου μου Μαξιμί-  
 νου, τοῦ λαμπροτά-  
 του δουκός.

**Date:** Valentinianus I's and Valens' 1st consulate = AD 365.

*Comments:* Augustus Valentinianus I reigned with his brother Valens – whom he also proclaimed Augustus – from 28 March AD 364 until 23 August AD 367. During this period both became consuls only in AD 365 (Cagnat, pp. 245-46; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 264-65).

28. *EL-KURSI* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 26 (1976-7), p. 390, no. 1677; *SEG* 30 (1980), pp. 484-85, no. 1697;  
*SEG* 33 (1983), p. 383, no. 1270.

[+]  
Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) Στε-  
φάνου πρεσβ(υτέρου) καὶ ἡγου-  
μένου ἐγένετο ἡ ψή-  
φωσις τοῦ φωτιστη-  
5 ρίου ἐν μην(νι) Δεκεμβρίῳ,  
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) τετάρτῃ <ς>, ἐπὶ τοῦ  
εὐσεβ(εστάτου) καὶ φιλοχ(ρίστου) ἡ-  
μῶν βασιλέως Μαυρικίου  
ὑπατίας πρώτης. + ·

**Date:** December, 4th indiction, Mauricius' 1st consulate = December AD 585.  
**Comments:** For the date of this inscription see discussion in text above, p. 343.

## 2. Civilian consulship

**The inscriptions:** All nineteen inscriptions (nos. 29-47) mentioning civilian consulship come from Arabia (mainly Hauran and S. Transjordan). Several of them (nos. 29-36) are dated to the second half of the second century AD, while the centuries from the third down to the sixth are represented by one or two examples each.

All the texts under consideration mention erection of public buildings and other embellishments (propylon, fountains, stoa, theatre's stage house at Gerasa, bath and stoa complex at Amman, tower at Bostra, a statue of Fortune at Shakka, building of churches and mosaic pavement at Kh. el-Mekhayyat, etc.).

The early third century AD marks a new stage in the history of the civilian consulship too. Although until AD 235 the consuls referred to were the governors of Arabia who had been awarded the suffect consulate along with the office of "legatus Augusti propraetore" (πρεσβευτῆς Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστράτηγος), from that point down to AD 530 (date of the last reliable inscription) the consuls recorded were the two ordinary consuls of the Empire.

Suffect consulship was a usual honour for the governors of Arabia.<sup>1</sup> When it was granted to the newly appointed legate, he was designated "consul suffectus" the fall of the year he assumed the governorship and invested with the title the following year.<sup>2</sup> The first example attested with certainty is that of Lucius Attidius Cornelianus who was consul designatus in the fall of his first governal year (AD 150). The other provincial legates of the Greek inscriptions from Arabia were awarded this title either during their stay in Bostra (nos. 32-33, C. Allius Fuscianus and nos. 37-38, Q. Aiadius Modestus) or immediately afterwards (nos. 34-35, P. Iulius

1. Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 115-16.

2. Ibid.

Geminus Marcianus Crescentianus). It is noteworthy that in eight out of the ten cases the governors were only nominated (*designati*) and not actual bearers of this title.

Two points should be emphasized here with regard to the ordinary consuls mentioned in the inscriptions: a) the omission of Anatolius' colleague in the West, i.e. emperor Valentinian III (AD 440), in the inscriptions from Gerasa (no. 45) and Bosra (no. 44), and b) the omission of the name of the consul (Belisarius) in the later inscription from Kh. el-Mekhayyat (no. 47), where he is plainly styled Φλ(αούτιος).<sup>3</sup> The mention of the archbishop Elias (active in AD 531) in the neighbouring section of the mosaic and the numeral “ιδ” at the end of the third line, taken to mean the 14th indiction, urged Milik and Gattier<sup>4</sup> to date the building of the church in the consulship of Flavius Belisarius (AD 535).

In all cases the wording of the formula mentioning the consulship seems to reveal a rather conscious use of this office as a dating device. The common type for the earlier period is the phrase “ἐπὶ + name (in genitive) + ὑπάτου (ἀναδεδειγμένου)”, while for that from the third century AD henceforth the clause “ὑπατεία or ἐν ὑπατεία + name (in genitive) + name (in genitive)” is more usual.

Despite the dating by consuls, however, in almost half of the inscriptions the consulate is correlated with another dating method: a) twice with the Gerasene era (nos. 30, 31), b) once with the corresponding regnal year of Antoninus Pius (no. 29), c) three times with the era of provincia Arabia (nos. 43, 44, 46), and d) once with a problematic numeral (no. 35).

This fact along with the small number of inscriptions dated by consuls and their geographical concentration almost exclusively in the territory of provincia Arabia shows that: 1) this chronological practice was never a favourite one<sup>5</sup> especially in Palestine, where the local eras were flourishing, and 2) its use in provincia Arabia was not entirely independent from the titulature of the emperor or the civilian who happened to be consul too.

There are four papyri from Nessana and one from Rhinocorura<sup>6</sup> dated, among other ways (indications and era of provincia Arabia), by consuls too. It is relevant that while consulship introduces the dating formula until the post-consulship of Belisarius (AD 537), it follows the regnal year of Justinian in the papyri dated in the years AD 558 and 562. This deviation from the norm eventually reflects the specifications of Justinian's *Novel* 47, according to which his regnal year had to be included in the dating formula.

The association of Secundinus' and Felix's consulate (AD 511) in the Rhinocorura papyrus with the indiction year and the month corresponding to AD 512 is certainly due to a scribe's ignorance.<sup>7</sup> Although both consul names were announced simultaneously, the name of the eastern consul was often omitted in the West and vice versa. This was partly due to the fact that after AD 411 these dignitaries were nominated and proclaimed separately.<sup>8</sup> Therefore in AD 512, when two easterners,

3. For the rare practice of omitting the names of the consuls see *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. I (1876), p. 858, s.v. inscriptions (Ch. Babington).

4. J. T. Milik, “Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie jordaniennes”, *LA* 10 (1959-60), pp. 157-58; S. Saller, “The Work of Bishop John of Madaba in the Light of Recent Discoveries”, *LA* 19 (1969), p. 163; Gattier, *Jordanie* 2, p. 106.

5. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 28-29.

6. Kraemer, *Nessana* 3, papyri nos. 15, 16, 18, 20, 21.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 44, note 1.

8. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, p. 64.

Paulus and Moschianus, entered the office, most of the western sources dated by Felix's post-consulate.

The later three papyri (dated in AD 537, 557/8, 562) make use of Belisarius' and Basilus' post-consulships without, however, naming the specific year. This year, though, can be fixed with the help of the other dating information of the papyri comprising year according to the era of provincia Arabia, indiction and Egypto-Macedonian month.

29. *AMMAN* slab

Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 42-44, no. 17.

[Υπὲρ τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεί-  
νο[υ Σεβαστοῦ]  
[Εὐσεβοῦς, πατὴρ πατρίδος καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐλήρου Καίσαρος,  
υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν]  
[ἄλλων τέκνων καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος οἴκου σωτηρίας καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου  
καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων]  
[.....<sup>ca.34</sup>..... βασι|γεῖον καὶ τὸ τετράσ[τοον .....<sup>ca.10</sup>]  
5 [...]α vacat ἐπὶ Λ(ουκίου) Ἀτ[τιδίου Κορνηλι]-  
[ανοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρ(ατήγου) ὑπάτου ἀναδεδειγμένον,  
vacat ἔτει ιγ' |---|].

**Date:** L. Attidius Cornelianus, consul designatus, 13th R.Y. of Antoninus Pius = AD 150.

30. *GERASA* two pairs of architrave blocks

See P.E. no. 51.

31. *GERASA* blocks of a tympanum

See P.E. no. 52.

32. *BOSTRA* block

Bibl. *SEG* 30 (1980), p. 486, no. 1703; *BE* in *REG* 94 (1981), p. 119; Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 139, no. 9066.

[Γ.] Ἄλλιον Φ[ουσκιανόν]  
πρεσβ(ευτήν) Σ[εβ(αστοῦ) or Σ[εβ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρ(ατήγον)]  
ὑπατο[ν ἀναδ(εδειγμένον) ...]  
TON [...].

**Date:** C. Allius Fuscianus, consul (suffectus) designatus = ca. AD 161 (?).

**Comments:** If C. Allius Fuscianus is the dignitary involved (H.I. MacAdam, *ZPE* 38 [1980], pp. 72-74; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 83, no. 9, pp. 94-95, no. 45), the inscription should be dated in his governance (AD 159-161). The clause specifying that he was nominated for consulship is also restored. G. Alföldy (*Konsulat und Senatorenstand* [Bonn 1977], pp. 354-61) argued that he was appointed suffect consul in AD 162. Accordingly, he should have been consul designatus in AD 161. However, an



incongruity regarding his career should be noted: the later part of his administration of the province coincides with the earlier one of P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus (AD 161-166: Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 83-84).

33. *GERASA* two building blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 433, no. 166.

A                      B  
Γ(άιον) Ἀ[λ|λ]ιον Φουσκιαγὸν  
ὑπάτον  
Φλ(αούος) | Εὐμένης v.v.v. [Κλ]αυδιανοῦ.

**Date:** C. Allius Fuscianus, consul suffectus = ca. AD 162 (?).

**Comments:** See inscr. no. 32.

34. *GERASA* three blocks  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 405, no. 65.

A                      B                      C  
Ἐπερ [σωτηρίας τῶν Καισάρων] [Αὐτοκρ]ατό[ρων Μάρκου  
Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Ἀρμενιakoῦ Παρθικοῦ  
μεγίστου]  
καὶ Λου[κίου Οὐήρου Ἀρμενιakoῦ] Παρ[θικοῦ] μεγίστου  
-----  
καὶ τοῦ]  
σύν[αντος οἴκου αὐτῶν ἀφιερῶθη] ἐπ[ὶ Γεμινίου Μ]αρκιανοῦ  
πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρατήγου  
ὑπάτου ἀναδεδειγμένου. Ἔτους --].

**Date:** P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus, consul (suffectus) designatus = AD 166 (?).

**Comments:** Milestones and inscriptions (Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 83-84, no. 10) suggest that Geminus Marcianus was legate of Arabia between AD 161 and 166. In an inscription dated AD 163 by the Gerasene era (P.E. no. 58), his restored name is associated only with the governance of the province. The imperial titulature elucidates more precisely the date of his consulate. Lucius Verus was appellated Parthicus Maximus in the year AD 165 while Marcus Aurelius in AD 166, during which Marcianus should have been nominated consul designatus. Consequently he must have become consul suffectus one year after, as Hohl (*RE* X, 1 [1918], col. 611, s.v. Iulius no. 259) argued. However, the early part of his governal career overlaps the last part of his predecessor C. Allius Fuscianus (see comments on inscr. no. 32).

35. *GERASA* block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 405, no. 64.

[---- τ]ῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ Γεμινίου Μαρ[κ]ιαγ[οῦ]  
[πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρατήγου ὑπάτου] ἀναδεδειγμένου.  
[Ἔτους ... ----] κς'.

**Date:** P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus, consul (suffectus) designatus = AD 166 (?).

*Comments:* See comments on inscr. no. 34.

36. *GERASA* round pedestal  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 433-34, no. 168.

Κρισπῖναν,  
σύμβιον Κ(οῖντου) Ἀντισ-  
τίου Ἀδουέντου  
ὑπάτου, ἡ πόλις  
5 δι' ἐπιμελητοῦ  
Αἰλίου Εὐμένους  
καὶ βοηθῶν.

**Date:** Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus, consul suffectus = AD 167 (?)

*Comments:* Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus is recorded in a Latin inscription from Bostra (Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 138-39, no. 9065), as consul (suffectus) designatus. In this Greek inscription he is the holder of the announced consulship. The modern compilers of fasti date this consulate in the time of the Arabian governorship of Antistius in AD 166 or 167. This, as Sartre (*Bostra*, supra) has rightly pointed out, is contradictory to the final part of the governal career of P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus (see comments of inscr. no. 34), who in the last year of his Arabian administration (AD 166 ?) was designated for a suffect consulship (taken after he had handed over the legation of the province). Thus, the year AD 167 fits in better with Antistius Adventus' consulate.

37. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 125, no. 9054.

Ἰουλίαν Δόμναν  
Σεβαστὴν τὴν Κυρίαν,  
ἐπὶ Αἰακίου Μοδέστου  
ὑπάτ(ου) ἀναδ(εδειγμένου), ἡ Βοστρηνῶν πόλις|  
5 [προ]εδρεύνοντος Ἰουλ(ίου) Μαρκ(ια)νοῦ.

**Date:** Q. Aiacius Modestus Crescentianus, consul designatus = AD 205 – 207 (?)

*Comments:* The legation of Q. Aiacius Modestus Crescentianus in the province of Arabia is to be dated between AD 205-207 (Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 86, no. 19; idem, *Bostra*, pp. 126-27, no. 9055). During this period he was nominated consul designatus (*RE Suppl.* XIV [1974], cols. 14-15, s.v. Aiacius no. 2 [W. Eck]).

38. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 125-27, no. 9055.

[Αὐ]τοκράτορα Καίσαρα  
[Μ(ἄρκου)] Αὐρήλιον Ἀντων(εῖ)νον  
[Σε]β(αστὸν) τὸν Κύριον, ἐπὶ  
Αἰακίου Μοδέστου ὑπάτ(ου)  
5 ἀναδ(εδειγμένου), ἡ Βοστρηνῶν πόλις,  
[προ]εδρεύοντ(ος) Ἰουλ(ίου) Μαρκ[ια]ν(οῦ).

**Date:** Q. Aiadius Modestus Crescentianus, consul designatus = AD 205 – 207 (?).

*Comments:* See inscr. no. 37.

39. *EL-MUSHENNEF* block  
Bibl. *PA* III, p. 325; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 57, note 258.

a. Ὑπατείας Κλαυδ[ίου]  
Σεουήρου καὶ Κλα[υ]-  
δίου Κυῖντιανοῦ  
[.....<sup>ca.15</sup>.....]  
b. ---- καὶ Εἰ ----  
-- σ[τ]ράτορος Οἰ ----  
--- Α[ὐ]ρ(ηλίου) Βερνικια[νοῦ] --.]

**Date:** Cn. Claudius Severus' and L. Ti. Claudius Aurelius Quintianus' ordinary consulate = AD 235.

*Comments:* For various references on their consulate see *PIR* II, p. 248, no. 1025.

40. *SHAKKA (Maximianopolis)* block  
Bibl. M. Sartre, *Syria* 61 (1984), pp. 49-61; *SEG* 34 (1984), p. 415, no. 1519.

Ἵπέρ σωτηρίας κ[αὶ] νείκης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν]  
αὐτοκράτορος [[Μ(ἄρκου)] Ἀν-  
των[ίου] Γο[ρ]διανοῦ]] Σεβ(αστοῦ),  
Τύχην Μεγάλην Σακκαίας  
5 τῇ κυρίᾳ πατρίδι Ἰουενά-  
λιος Πρόκλος Ταυρεῖνου (ἐκατοντάρχης)  
ἅμα Σονομάθῃ συμβίῳ  
καὶ τέκνοις ἀνέθηκεν,  
ὑπατεία Πίου καὶ Πον-  
10 τIANOῦ, πρὸ ς' Καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰου-  
νίων.

**Date:** (C.?) Fulvius Pius' and Pontius Proculus Pontianus' ordinary consulate, 6 days before the Kalends of June = 27 May AD 238.

41. *RÎMET EL-LUHF* block (?)  
*Bibl. IGRR III*, p. 461, no. 1268; *PA III*, p. 331.

Ὑπατί(ϛ) Τ. [Πο]υστουμί[ο]υ Τιτιανοῦ]  
 κὲ Οὐίρ[γινί]ου Νεποτια[νοῦ] ...  
 ἐκ[τί]σθη.

**Date:** T. Flavius Postumius Titianus II's and Popilius Virius Nepotianus' ordinary consulate = AD 301.

*Comments:* T. Postumius Titianus and Popilius Virius Nepotianus were the ordinary consuls of the year AD 301. According to the research by Bagnall et al. (*Consuls*, pp. 136-37) Titianus was the last person whose first ordinary consulship was considered his second one because of an earlier suffect consulate (of unknown date).

42. *UMMEZ-ZEITUN* block  
*Bibl. CIG III*, pp. 258, 1181, no. 4593; *PA III*, p. 335; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 57, note 258.

Ὑπατίϛ Βάσσου καὶ Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων, ἔτο[υς ...]  
 Σατορνῖνος οὐετρα(νός), Παυλῖνος Ἀργηρίου?, Ἀβούρρις Μαθίου,  
 Βένις Ἀγρίππου, Ῥομέος Θέμου, Ἡράκλειτος οὐετραν[ι]δὸς ὥκοδόμησαν...

**Date:** Iulius Annius Bassus' and Flavius Ablabius' ordinary consulate = AD 331.

*Comments:* It is possible that a year numeral according to the era of the province of Arabia was inscribed next to the partially preserved clause ETO. There are, however, editors who restore a verb out of these syllables: ἐτ[ελεῖωσαν] or ἐτ[ευξαν].

43. *EL-KUFR* block  
*Bibl. PAES IIIA5*, pp. 308-309, no. 669.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μοντανὸς  
 Θεοδώρου, β(ουλεωτής?) Β(οστρηνῶν?) ἀπὸ π(ραι)π(οσί)των  
 τοῦτο τὸ μνημῖον ἐξ ἰδίων καμάτων

-----  
 5 CAPHNΩN, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Φλα(ουῖου) Σεργείου καὶ Φλ(αουῖου)  
 Νιγρινιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων,  
 ἔτους σμε' τῆς ἡπαρχείας.

**Date:** Flavius Anicius Sergius' and Flavius Nigrinianus' ordinary consulate, 245 E.P.A. = 22 March – 31 December AD 350.

*Comments:* Fl. A. Sergius and Fl. Nigrinianus were the ordinary consuls of the year AD 350.

44. *BOSTRA* block  
Bibl. Sartre, *Bostra*, pp. 189-90, no. 9118.

Ἐκ κελεύσεως τοῦ κυ-  
ρίου μου τοῦ μεγαλοπ-  
ρεστάτου στρατηλάτου ὑπ-  
άτου Ἀνατολίου ἐ<γ>ένετο ὁ π-  
5 ὕργος, προνοοῦντος Σαβίνο-  
υ λαμπροτάτου, ἐν ἔτι τλε΄.

**Date:** Flavius Anatolius' ordinary consulate, 335 E.P.A. = 22 March – 31 December AD 440.

*Comments:* Fl. Anatolius shared the consulship with emperor Valentinian who, in the year AD 440, entered it for the fifth time. According to the evidence gathered by Bagnall et al. (*Consuls*, pp. 414-15), only Anatolius was promulgated in the East until May or June of AD 440. One would, thus, tend to date the text between 22 March and May or June AD 440, since the omission of the emperor's name would be excusable only in the case of a delayed dissemination.

45. *GERASA* block  
Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 467, no. 273.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου μου Φλ(αουῖου) Ἀνατολίου,  
τοῦ μεγαλοπ(ρεπεστάτου) στρατηλάτου καὶ ὑπάτου,  
καὶ ἐπὶ Φλ(αουῖου) Σιμπλικίου, τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) κόμη[ητος],  
ἀνοικοδομήθη ἡ πύλη καὶ?] τὸ τεῖχος.

**Date:** Flavius Anatolius' ordinary consulate = AD 440.

*Comments:* See comments on inscr. no. 44.

46. *RAS-SIYAGHA* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie 2*, pp. 87-89, no. 74.

Χάριτι θεῖα, ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰ πάντα θεοφιλεστ(άτου) πατρὸς ἡμῶν κ(αὶ)  
ποιμένος Ἡλίου ἐπισκ(όπου) ἀνφοκοδομήθη δὴ κ(αὶ) ἐκοσμή-  
θη τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Θ(εοῦ) διακον(ι)κὸν μετὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγίας κολουμβέ-  
θρας τῆς παλι <v> γε <v> εσίας κ(αὶ) τοῦ χαριεστάτου κη-  
βωρίου, σπουδῇ Ἡλίου ἡγουμένου κ(αὶ) πρε(σβυτέρου), ἐν ὑπατίᾳ Φλ-  
(αουῖου) Λαμπαδίου κ(αὶ) Ὁρέστου τῶν λαμπρ(ο)τ(άτων), μη(νὶ)  
Ἀγούστῳ,  
χρόνων θ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ ἔτους υκε' τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας  
Μουσηλίου σχο(λαστικοῦ) κ(αὶ) Σεργούδ, γαμετῆς· ὑπὲρ  
5 σωτηρίας Φιλαδέλφου σχο(λαστικοῦ) κ(αὶ) Γόθ(ο)υ σχο(λαστικοῦ)  
κ(αὶ) πάντων τῶν αὐτοῖς διφερόντων. Ἀμέν, Κ(ύρι)ε.

**Date:** Lampadius' and Orestes' ordinary consulate, August 425 E.P.A.,  
<8>th ind. = August AD 530.

*Comments:* August of the year 425 E.P.A. falls in the eighth and not in the ninth indiction if one takes as epoch for the era the 22nd of March AD 106. The mistake in the indiction year is probably due to the proximity of the month August to that of September, when the ninth indiction began. If, however, this is not the case, then the only way for the dating elements of the inscription to be in harmony is to accept as an epoch for the era of provincia Arabia the 1st of September AD 106. This assumption is the opposite one from that expressed by Grumel (*Chronologie*, p. 215) who suggested that towards the end of the fifth or during the sixth century AD the epoch of the era was pulled back to 1 September AD 105 in order to coincide with the indiction. Thus, the converted date of the inscription according to the above mentioned epoch, is August AD 531. But this date is automatically excluded by the fact that the consuls referred to in the inscription (Lampadius and Orestes) were in charge only in AD 530, while 531 to 533 was the time of their post-consulship. Besides, later inscriptions prove that no modification of the epoch of the era occurred hereafter, see for example E.P.A. nos. 277, 327, 358, 387, 440, 470, 528, 530.

47. *KHIRBET EL-MEKHAYYAT* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. Gatier, *Jordanie* 2, pp. 105-106, no. 100c.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφ(ιλισταίου) Ἰω(άννου) ἐπισκόπου?  
ἐκτίσθ(η) κ(αὶ) ἐτηλιώθ(η) ὁ ἄγ(ιος) τόπ(ος)  
ὑπατί(α) Φλ(αυτίου) τοῦ ἐνδ(οξοσταίου), χρ(όνων) ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιδ',  
ὑπὲρ σωτ(ηρίας) Ῥάββος [οἰκονόμου τῆς ἀ-  
5 γιωτ(άτης) ἐκλισ(ίας) καὶ ἰ ..... πρε(σβυτέρου) κ(αὶ) π-  
αραμοναρίου τοῦ Γ(εωργίου) κ(αὶ) [...].

**Date:** Fl. (Belisarius') consulate, 14th ind. = 1 September – 31 December AD 535.

*Comments:* In AD 535 Belisarius was the sole consul for that year (*RE* III, 1 [1897], col. 218, s.v. Belisarios [Hartmann]; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, pp. 604-605). Since in AD 536 and 537 no consuls were announced, Belisarius' post-consulates provide the information for such a dating. For the omission of the name of the consul see text above, p. 349 and note 4.

## Chapter 4

### REGNAL YEARS

Reckoning by the regnal years of local monarchs or emperors was common in the East (Pontus, Bithynia, Cyprus, Palestine, Syria, Arabia and Egypt).<sup>1</sup> The starting point for their computation was affected by the local methods of reckoning<sup>2</sup> or by other important events in the career of a particular emperor and therefore it is confusing to convert regnal years into Julian dates.

In Syria and Egypt the regnal years were reckoned in compliance with the calendars of Antioch and Alexandria, respectively. From Augustus to Nerva in Syria the second regnal year started on the next 1 October after the emperor's accession to the throne.<sup>3</sup>

From Trajan henceforth, in Syria and the regions influenced by it, the regnal year was identical with the tribunician year, starting on 10 December.<sup>4</sup>

Occasionally the ancient text is dated not only by regnal year, but also by consulate as well as by indiction. Dating by regnal year became compulsory from AD 537 onwards, when Justinian's *Novel* 47 specified that his regnal year had to precede the relevant consulship and indiction number.<sup>5</sup>

**The inscriptions:** Counting by regnal years in Palestine and Arabia is mainly attested from the mid-first to the late third century AD and to a restricted extent in the sixth century AD. Forty-nine inscriptions were found in Batanaea, Trachonitis and Hauranitis, eight in Palaestina Prima (Ashdod-1st cent. AD, Ramle and Jaffa-2nd cent. AD, Beit Surik, Ain Samieh, Jericho, Kh. el-Beiyûdât, Jerusalem-6th cent. AD) and three in Transjordan (Gerasa, Madaba, Amman-2nd cent. AD). All the second and third centuries AD pagan inscriptions refer to the dedication of buildings (temples, baths, porticoes, gates, etc.) or smaller constructions (altars). Sponsors are either distinguished citizens, veterans, etc. or the entire community. Dating by regnal years in the sixth century AD is encountered in five inscriptions from Palaestina Pri-

1. G.L. Arvanitakis, *Χρονολογία των αρχαίων και νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* (Athens 1940), p. 28; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II. 2, pp. 802-803; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 66 where reference is made to the article of J. Goldstein, "The Syriac Bill of Sale from Dura-Europos", *JNES* 25, 1 (1966), p. 8.

2. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II. 2, p. 803; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 66.

3. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II. 2, pp. 802-803; Bickerman, *Chronology*, p. 66; Cagnat, p. 162.

4. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II. 2, pp. 803-804.

5. Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, p. 7. For the text see R. Schoell and G. Kroll, *Corpus Juris Civilis*, vol. 3, pp. 283-85 and especially p. 284, caput I:

"Ὅθεν θεσπιζόμεν τοὺς τε ὅσοι τοῖς πραιτομένοις ὑπηρετοῦντας εἴτε ἐν δικαστηρίοις εἴτε ἐνθα ἂν συνίστανται πράξεις, τοὺς τε συμβολαιογράφους καὶ τοὺς ὅλως καθ' οἷονδήποτε σχῆμα συμβόλαια γράφοντας εἴτε ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς μεγάλῃς πόλεως εἴτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐθνεσιν, ὧν ἡμῖν ἐξάρχειν δέδωκεν ὁ θεός, οὕτω πως ἄρχεσθαι τῶν συμβολαίων· Βασιλείας τοῦδε τοῦ θειοτάτου Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους τοσοῦδε. καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ἐπιφέρειν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου προσηγορίαν τοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔτος ὄντος, καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐπινέμωσιν, παρεπομένου τοῦ μηνὸς καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν διὰ πάντων ὁ χρόνος τηροῖτο, καὶ ἡ τε τῆς βασιλείας μνήμη ἡ τε τῆς ὑπατείας τάξις ἡ τε λοιπὴ παρατήρησις ἐγκειμένη τοῖς συμβολαίοις ἀνόθευτα ταῦτα κατὰ πολλὰ καταστήσει.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις παρὰ τοῖς τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ οἰκοῦσιν ἢ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις φυλάττεται παρατήρησις ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν πόλεων χρόνοις, οὐδὲ ταύτῃ βασκαίνωμεν· ἀλλὰ προτετάχθω μὲν ἡ βασιλεία, ἐπέσθω δὲ ὡς εἴρηται ὁ τε ὑπατος ἡ τε ἐπινέμωσις ὁ τε μὴν ἡ τε ἡμέρα, καθ' ἣν πράττεται καὶ γράφεται τὰ γινόμενα, τηλικαῦτά τε ἐπαγέσθω καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως πᾶσι τρόποις ἔτος".

ma (nos. 102, 104-107) and one from Hauranitis (no. 103). The majority of these Christian inscriptions also commemorate building activities. Only those from Jericho (no. 105) and Jerusalem (no. 107) are epitaphs and the reason they are exceptionally dated by the regnal year of an emperor could be the high social rank of the deceased (an extremely active presbyter and hegoumen in no. 105, an imperial cubicularia in no. 107).

The dating formula comprising the genitive “ἔτους” – in two cases replaced by the symbol L (nos. 51, 52) and a Greek cardinal or ordinal, is combined with the king’s or emperor’s name. In six examples (nos. 51, 52A, 62 ? , 72, 76, 91), however, the clause “year + numeral” is clearly dissociated from the king’s or emperor’s name, so that the connection with him is tenuous and the doubt about the character of the era involved reasonable. An obvious reason for this situation could be the scribe’s assumption that the year numeral – in spite of its isolated position – could only be linked with the sovereign’s name which is referred to amid the text (βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Ἀγρίππῳ) or announced in the first phrase of the inscriptions (Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας + emperor’s name). There are only two inscriptions (nos. 73 and 75) which, despite the emperor’s reference in the introductory clause, do repeat his name in connection with the year numeral. The phrase “ἔτους + year numeral” can also precede (nos. 77, 95) or follow (nos. 58, 80, 82, 90, 93, 100, 101) the acclamations “ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ...” or “ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ”.

Scholars are hampered by the confusion regarding the departure point for reckoning the regnal years.

Six building inscriptions from Batanaea, Trachonitis and Hauranitis (nos. 50-55) are dated by the regnal years of Agrippa II (ca. AD 53-96?). Interestingly enough, two of them (nos. 52, 55) reckon his ruling years after two different departure points: (ἔτους) ἀκ’ τοῦ ζι’ and ἔτους λζ’ τοῦ καὶ λβ’, respectively. Turning points in the career of Agrippa II, which could serve as the counting basis, are mentioned in Josephus’ works:<sup>6</sup> 1) in January AD 48/49 he was granted the principality of Chalkis on the W. slope of Mount Hermon (*Antiq.* 20.5.2-104; *War* 2.12.1-223), 2) after January AD 53 he received in compensation for Chalkis the former Herodian territory in northern Transjordan (i.e. the territory of Philip the Tetrarch and Agrippa I) and a principality in the Hermon (*Antiq.* 20.7.1-138; *War* 2.12.8-247), and 3) soon after Nero’s accession (13 October AD 54) he was given the toparchies of Abila and Livias as well as Tiberias and Tarichae in Lower Galilee (*Antiq.* 20.8.4-159; *War* 2.13.2-252).

Josephus seems to count Agrippa’s regnal years from AD 49/50, when dating the outbreak of the Jewish War in “δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ τῆς τοῦ Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός ...” (*War* 2.14.4-284),<sup>7</sup> that is, shortly after his appearance on the historical scene. The choice between AD 49 and 50 depends on the acceptance of an autumnal or vernal calendaric year, respectively.<sup>8</sup>

According to Mommsen<sup>9</sup> years AD 50 and 53 are both legitimate as the starting point for counting Agrippa II’s regnal years. In AD 50 he started ruling in Chalkis

6. Th. Mommsen, “Zu den Münzen Agrippas I und II”, *NZ* 3 (1871), pp. 451-53; Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, pp. 106-107; G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1983), pp. 69-70.

7. The counting basis for Nero’s regnal years based on the succession of his tribunates before AD 60 is quite complicated. In his attempt to clarify it, Mommsen suggested two different systems, see Cagnat, pp. 186-87.

8. H. Seyrig, “Sur quelques ères syriennes”, *RN* 4 (1964), pp. 56, 64-65.

9. Mommsen (supra note 6), p. 452.



after inheriting the lands of his uncle, king Herod, and in AD 53 his sovereignty was shifted from Chalkis to N. Transjordan; both are turning points in his career. Deprivation of the Chalkis principality lands could also mean abandonment of the original reckoning basis (AD 49/50). Sartre occasionally converts Agrippa's regnal years recorded in inscriptions from N. Transjordan on the basis of AD 53.<sup>10</sup> This reasonable counting point yields plausible dates. One is, however, perplexed when the double dates are to be rendered into Julian equivalents. If the earlier epoch is that of AD 53, the later one should be fixed in AD 58, since there is a five-year span between the two numerals of both inscriptions. The occasion which prompted Agrippa II to adopt one more dating basis within his reign is not known.

Some scholars (Littmann,<sup>11</sup> Mordtmann<sup>12</sup>) obtained Julian dates from the double dated inscriptions with the help of a pair of dating points (AD 61 and 56) furnished by a coin. This bilingual coin,<sup>13</sup> equating the twelfth consulate of Domitian (AD 86) with Agrippa's 26th regnal year, fixes his first year in AD 61.

Two coins<sup>14</sup> struck for Neronias – the renamed Caesarea Philippi<sup>15</sup> – are dated by a double era (ἐτους α' τοῦ καὶ ζ') similar to that attested in the above mentioned inscriptions. If one of this pair of year numerals is to be linked with the epoch of AD 61, then only the latter would make the coin fall within Nero's reign. Consequently, the reckoning basis for the former would be AD 56.

Seyrig,<sup>16</sup> who reconsidered the literary and archaeological material pertaining to the Agrippan eras, noticed that the epoch AD 56 is: a) the prevailing one, for it is compatible with the historical data provided by all the above mentioned categories of evidence and a series of coins bearing Agrippa's regnal year, imperial titles and names (probably struck at Paneas except for the coin(s) recording Domitian's consulate), and b) is charted in the northern regions of the kingdom. According to the same scholar the isolated case of the coins suggesting the AD 61 epoch based on Domitian's consulates, have another, yet undetermined, origin.

The use of two regnal years so closely introduced by the same king has not been hitherto satisfactorily justified. Th. Mommsen associated the earlier one (AD 56) with Caesarea Philippi's renaming to Neronias. But he was very sceptical in interpreting the inauguration of the later one (AD 61) due to an improbably late bestowal of the king's title upon Agrippa II. H. Seyrig<sup>17</sup> reversed the correlations and assigned in AD 56 a delayed recognition of Agrippa's regnal status and in AD 61 the renaming of Paneas into Neronias. He confessed, however, that such an event in the city's history would introduce rather a city era than a regnal one. Seyrig's idea about the dominating use of epoch AD 56 is acceptable and consequently its partner AD 61 is the alternative epoch in the cases of double dates. Regarding Agrippa's year numerals one should note the descending order used in the earliest and latest inscriptions of the group in contrast to the practice followed in the rest of them.

10. Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 48.

11. *PAES* IIIA7, p. 379.

12. J.H. Mordtmann, "Beiträge zur Inschriftenkunde Syriens", *ZDPV* 7 (1884), pp. 121-22.

13. Mommsen (supra note 6), p. 451; B. Haussoullier and H. Ingholt, "Inscriptions grecques de Syrie", *Syria* 5 (1924), p. 328; Seyrig (supra note 8, p. 56, no. 2) mentioned one more analogous but badly preserved coin, dated one year earlier.

14. Mommsen (supra note 13); Seyrig (supra note 8), p. 57, no. 5.

15. Josephus, *Antiq.*, 20.9.4.-211.

16. Seyrig (supra note 8), p. 61.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

The problem of computing the regnal years becomes more complicated in cases of joint reigns, as that of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, as well as Septimius Severus and Caracalla.<sup>18</sup>

M. Aurelius was invested with the tribunician power on 10 December AD 146, but was granted with the supreme authority after Antoninus Pius' death in AD 161. He shared the imperial throne with his adopted brother Lucius Verus between AD 161-169 and with his son Commodus from AD 176 to 180. Any of these changes in M. Aurelius' status could easily be considered as the reckoning basis for his regnal years. Decisive clues in choosing one of these dates are the ceremonial titles granted to him after his military exploits.<sup>19</sup> Thus, inscriptions recording M. Aurelius' ninth regnal year (nos. 77, 79) and the designations "Armeniacus, Parthicus, Medicus" can in no way date earlier than AD 166 (time of bestowal of his third title). Consequently, his regnal years are counted from the day he assumed the "imperium" (AD 161).

Commodus joined M. Aurelius in ruling the empire in AD 176. He was honoured with the title of emperor on the 27th of November AD 176 and soon afterwards he was invested with the tribunician power for the first time. The obscurity regarding the date of his first tribunate affects the starting point for the computation of the emperor's regnal years. According to Mommsen,<sup>20</sup> the tribunician power was conferred upon him only during AD 177. So the emperor's second regnal year would start on the 10th of December AD 177. In support of Mommsen's opinion a parchment from Dura, dated also by M. Aurelius' 20th regnal year and the Seleucid year 491, points to AD 177 as reckoning basis for Commodus' regnal years. Other scholars,<sup>21</sup> however, assumed that the bestowal of the first title in November AD 176 attracted the tribunician power too and consequently the emperor's second regnal year started on the 10th of December AD 176. We adopt this very plausible assumption, in converting Commodus' regnal years into Christian date. In favour of AD 176 (or 177) as starting point for computing Commodus' regnal years, inscription no. 91 could furnish decisive evidence if the sovereign's name were not obliterated. The 16th regnal year of Commodus falls in his reign only if one counts from AD 176/7 onwards. Since this emperor was condemned to "damnatio memoriae", the erased name could very probably have been his. Besides, more inscriptions witness this practice. Two partially preserved inscriptions from 'Ahire<sup>22</sup> bearing Commodus' name have not been included in this list since explicit reference to regnal year is missing. Another inscription from Nedjrân<sup>23</sup> associating the genitive "ἔτους" with a partly erased name has also been excluded since the imperial name is not recognizable.

The starting point for reckoning Caracalla's regnal years is rather troublesome. He was proclaimed "Caesar" in autumn of AD 196, "Imperator destinatus" in AD 197 and "Augustus" before 3 May AD 198. He shared the supreme office with his father Septimius Severus until AD 210 and with his younger brother Geta between AD 209-211. From Geta's murder (AD 212) until his own assassination (April AD 217) Caracalla reigned as sole sovereign. The evidence regarding his tribunician years is contradictory and misleading. Alexandrian coins and Egyptian inscriptions

18. Cagnat, pp. 199-205 and 206-10.

19. *PAES* IIIA, pp. 91-92, no. 155.

20. Cagnat, p. 204 and note 1.

21. Welles, *Gerasa*, p. 407, no. 69.

22. Ewing, p. 151, no. 93 and p. 155, no. 105.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 159, no. 114.

prove that Caracalla's years in Egypt were counted from the beginning of Severus' rule in AD 193. Littmann<sup>24</sup> tentatively adopted the same departure point for Syria too. Caracalla has been recognized or restored in three inscriptions from Hauranitis and Trachonitis (nos. 74, 81, 97). All these texts commemorate building or other dedications made by the communities on the relevant site.

The emperor's names and surnames (Antoninus, Aurelius Antonius, M. Aurelius Antoninus, respectively) could also easily refer to M. Aurelius (AD 161-180) or Elagabalus (AD 218-222), while no. 74 is also applicable to Antoninus Pius. The advanced stage in the ruler's reign, hinted at by the numerals (the 10th, 11th and 15th regnal year), eliminates Elagabalus and refutes any computation basis in the last part of Caracalla's rule (AD 212-217). On the other hand, the inscriptions from El-Kanawat (no. 92) and Harrân (no. 93) prove that either the name of the senior emperor (S. Severus) or those of the three co-regnants were noted when there was need for it until 14 February AD 211 (and eventually until 27? February AD 212). It is then reasonable to ascribe inscription no. 74 to Antoninus Pius' or M. Aurelius' reign and no. 81 to the reign of the latter.

Part of the magistrates listed in the inscription from Lubbên (no. 97) is recorded in another dedicatory inscription (no. 99), addressing the same local god and provided by the same community. The latter text is clearly dated in the 12th regnal year of Alexander Severus (10 December AD 232 – 9 December AD 233). Thus, one would tend to fill in the mutilated line of inscription no. 97 with the name of Alexander Severus whose 11th regnal year would make this text just one year earlier than that of no. 99. This plausible and sensible restoration is not supported by the various readings of the partly missing and effaced section, for they seem to give the name of Antoninus instead of the expected Alexander. However, assumption of Caracalla's involvement means that one accepts an interval of twenty years between the two strikingly similar inscriptions and such a supposition is obviously more far-fetched than the idea of an uncertain reading of the obliterated emperor's name.

There are four inscriptions (nos. 67, 68, 74, 76) dated by regnal years of a certain Antoninus. This is a confusing name, for it was the cognomen of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Caracalla and Elagabalus. The uncertainty regarding the emperor is further aggravated by the occasionally problematic computation of regnal years.

The plain name Antoninus must have been considered appropriate for Antoninus Pius in nos. 67, 68. On the other hand, the long reign implied by the number of the regnal years of nos. 74 and 76 and the exclusion of Caracalla (see above) leave as the only candidates Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

Reckoning by regnal years, like other chronological systems, is considered a useful device in understanding historical geography and establishing boundary alterations.<sup>25</sup> Since dating by regnal years is mainly evidenced in Batanaea, Trachonitis and Hauranitis, the discussion about the historical implications of its distribution must take into account the era of provincia Arabia introduced in these areas after their annexation to that province. The convenient principle according to which settlements dating by regnal years were part of Syria, while those using the era of provincia Arabia belonged to Roman Arabia, cannot be applied in every case and should be used with caution. In other words, whereas the sites employing the provin-

24. *PAES* IIIA7, p. 406.

25. A.G. Wright, "Syria and Arabia", *PEFQS* 1895, pp. 73-79; *PA* III, p. 267; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 50.

cial era in the second century AD were almost certainly under the jurisdiction of Roman Arabia, those loyal to counting by regnal years did not necessarily belong to Syria. The latter chronological system was a time-honoured one. Thus, tradition and conservatism may account for its maintenance despite political and regional rearrangements. Furthermore, the fact that a number of various dating systems were used simultaneously in the same or neighbouring townlets witnesses a rather flexible and not standardized attitude regarding the counting systems in the second and third centuries AD.<sup>26</sup>

With these considerations and reservations in mind, one may proceed to the examination of dating by regnal years as a hint of political reforms.

Agrippa's latest inscription was found in Eş-Şanamein which also yielded inscriptions dated by the ruling years of emperors: Claudius (5th R.Y. = AD 44/45, no. 48), Hadrian (10th R.Y. = AD 125/6, no. 63) and Commodus (16th R.Y. = AD 190/1, no. 91). Dating by imperial years in this area in AD 44/45 is confirmation of Josephus' information<sup>27</sup> regarding the fate of the region after Philip's death in AD 34: Philip's tetrarchy was annexed to the province of Syria and remained under its administration until AD 53, when Claudius rewarded Agrippa II for his virtues and skills with these lands. Thus dating by imperial year between AD 32-52 was quite legitimate in Eş-Şanamein. But after Agrippa II's death, Batanaea – where Eş-Şanamein is located – was annexed once more back to Syria for the second century AD.<sup>28</sup> Therefore reckoning by Commodus' and Hadrian's year is what one would expect in this settlement. A chronological hint for Agrippa's year of death is furnished by an inscription from 'Ahire dated in the first year of Nerva's reign (AD 96, no. 56).<sup>29</sup> Since 'Ahire was included in Agrippa's territory, it would be very odd to date by the ruling year of the Roman emperor instead of by that of the king.

An inscription from 'Anz (no. 70) dates a construction dedicated to the pagan god Dousares in the tenth regnal year of Antoninus Pius (AD 146/7). 'Anz, however, due to its location SE from Bostra and based on the evidence of an inscription (E.P.A. no. 2) tentatively dated in AD 111 according to the era of provincia Arabia, should have been assigned to the original province at the time of its formation (AD 106).

That in this transitional phase both old and new reckoning methods were interchangeably or simultaneously employed is very explicitly shown by an epigraphical text from Madaba (no. 71). Dated one or more years later than that of 'Anz it commemorates the erection of a tomb in the 43rd year from the creation of the province and in the tenth (?) regnal year of Antoninus Pius. The priority given to the era of provincia Arabia by mentioning it first may imply that this was considered the main chronological system, while the one based on the reign of the emperor a relic from the past.

Regnal year of the same emperor is also cited in AD 150 in a building inscription commemorating the dedication of a bath and a stoa complex in Amman (no. 72). Gatiér<sup>30</sup> thinks that this kind of computation could also be explained by the presence of a military unit, custom house, etc.

26. Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 55 and 57.

27. *Antiq.* 18.4.6-106-108; Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 104.

28. Avi-Yonah, *Holy Land*, p. 107; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 47 and note 164.

29. Various "termini" concerning Agrippa's death and the subsequent dissolution of his dominion have been meticulously assembled and discussed by Rosenberg in *RE X*, 1 (1918), cols. 149-50, s.v. Iulius (Agrippa).

30. Gatiér, *Jordanie 2*, pp. 42-44, no. 17.

Counting by the ruling years of emperors suddenly stops in the reign of Probus (AD 281/2, no. 101) and reappears in the sixth century AD with a handful of examples coming mainly from Palaestina Prima. The abandonment of dating by regnal years is obviously due to the prevalence of the era of provincia Arabia encouraged by the consolidation and the gradual coherence of Roman Arabia. On the other hand, Justinian's measure (*Novel* 47) in AD 537 might be responsible for the renewed fashion of dating by ruling years. An inscription from Beit Sūrik (no. 102, AD 515/6) is dated to the 25th regnal year of emperor Anastasius. His name has been restored on this heavily mutilated mosaic on the grounds of the first preserved letter (A) and the long duration of the emperor's reign, alluded to by the numeral "κε". Given that this emendation is correct, this practice anticipates in a way what Justinian laid down by law.

Dating by regnal years in these sixth century AD inscriptions is usually paired with a parallel record of the corresponding indiction or in the case of Hauran with the equivalent year of the era of provincia Arabia.

In nine non-literary papyri from Nessana<sup>31</sup> the regnal year is synchronized with consulates or post-consulates and dates according to the era of provincia Arabia. The examples of this group date from AD 558 to 605 and open the dating formula with a reference to the regnal year. The priority given to ruling year reflects the new emphasis given to this chronological system. The juxtaposition of these texts with an earlier papyrus<sup>32</sup> dated by Anastasius' consulate and the provincial era (AD 517) is indicative of the change.

48. *EŞ-ŞANAMEIN* lintel  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 296-97, no. 655<sup>2</sup>.

Ἔτους πέ < μ > πτου τῆς Αὐτοκράτο-  
ρος Τιβερίου Κ(λ)αυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβασ-  
τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Εὐνομος Ἐκτορος  
καὶ Αἴας καὶ Νείκαιος, ἀδελφοί, ἦρξαν οἰκο-  
5 δομῆσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος  
ἐκ τῶν ιδίων τῷ Διὶ κυρίῳ, εὐσεβείας κ-  
αὶ εὐχαριστείας ἕνεκα.

**Date:** 5th R.Y. of Claudius = 1 October AD 44 – 30 September AD 45.

49. *ASHDOD* (*Azotos*) weight  
Bibl. B. Lifshitz, *Euphrosyne* n.s. 6 (1973-74), p. 34; *SEG* 26 (1976-77), p. 387,  
no. 1665.

Ἀγοραγο[μ]ο[ῦ]-  
ν[τ]ο[ς] Ἡρώ-  
δου, ἑ[τ]λοῦς

31. Kraemer, *Nessana* 3, pap. nos. 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 46.

32. *Ibid.*, no. 17.

**β' Ούησπαση-**  
**5 αν(οῦ) Καίσα(αρος).**

**Date:** 2nd R.Y. of Vespasian = 1 October AD 69 – 30 September AD 70.

*Comments:* According to Stevenson, *Dictionary*, p. 852, “towards the end of AD 69, on the death of Otho, Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor at Alexandria, in Judaea and soon after (AD 70), on the death of Vitellius, at Rome”. Cagnat (p. 189) seems to agree with Stevenson’s first proclamation of Vespasian since he places the emperor’s accession day on the 1st July AD 69. We adopt this calculation too.

50. *AKRABA* block  
 Bibl. J.H. Mordtmann, *ZDPV* 7 (1884), p. 122.

Ἔτους ιη' βασιλέως Ἀγρ-  
 ίππα κυρίου, Ἀουεῖδο-  
 ς Μαλειχάθου ἐποί-  
 ησεν τὰ θυρώματ-  
 5 α σὺν κόσμῳ καὶ τ-  
 ὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τ-  
 ὶν ἰδίων, εὐσεβείας <ξ> ν-  
 <ε> κα, Διὶ κυρίῳ.

**Date:** 18th R.Y. of Agrippa II = 1 October AD 73 – 30 September AD 74.

51. *SUR* lintel  
 Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 424-25, no. 797<sup>1</sup>.

Ἡρώδη Αὔμου, στρατοπεδαρχήσαντι ἱππέων  
 Κολωνειτῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ στρατηγήσας  
 βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Ἀγρίππῳ κυρίῳ, Ἀγρίππας υἱὸς ἐποίησεν. L κ'.

**Date:** 20th R.Y. of Agrippa II = 1 October AD 75 – 30 September AD 76.

52. *SUWEIDA (Dionysias)* tablet  
 Bibl. *SEG* 7 (1934), p. 129, no. 970; *SEG* 33 (1983), pp. 391-92, no. 1306.

A . - - - - -  
 σι| - - - |ιος [ . . . ]  
 Λούκιος Ὀβούλνιος,  
 ἑκατοντάρχης σπίρης  
 Αὐγούστης, παρηκολού-  
 θησα τῷ ἔργῳ, L ακ' τοῦ ζι'.

B. Ἔτους ηκ' βασιλέως με-  
 γάλου Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Ἀγρίπ-

πα κυρίου, φιλοκαίσαρος, εὐ-  
σε[β]οῦς καὶ φιλορωμαίου τ[οῦ]  
-----

**Date:** A. 21st equal to 16th R.Y. of Agrippa II = 1 October AD 76 – 30 September AD 77.

B. 28th R.Y. of Agrippa II = 1 October AD 83 – 30 September AD 84.

*Comments:* For the two departure points of Agrippa II's regnal years see discussion in pp. 358-59.

53. *NEDJRÂN* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, p. 378, no. 785.

Ἄμερος Ἀνάμ-  
ου τοῦ Γάρου, Σαρη-  
νός, ἐποίησεν,  
ἔτους δευτέρου ε[ι]-  
5 κοστοῦ βασιλέως ...

**Date:** 22nd R.Y. of Agrippa II? = 1 October AD 77 – 30 September AD 78.

*Comments:* The king's name is thought to have been inscribed under the – now missing – right dovetail. Agrippa II is the most plausible candidate since his long rule in this region encompasses this year too.

54. *SUWEIDA (Dionysias)*  
See R.Y. no. 52B.

55. *ES-ŞANAMEIN* block  
Bibl. J.H. Mordtmann, *ZDPV* 7 (1884), pp. 121-22; Ewing, p. 58, no. 46.

Ἔτους λζ' τοῦ καὶ λβ'  
βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα κυ-  
ρ[ίου], Ἀββογαῖος Φύλω-  
[νος καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ οἰκοδόμησαν  
5 [τὴν θύ]ραν σὺν νεικαδίοις κα-  
[ὶ] λεοντ[α]ρίοις καὶ τὰ θυρώμα-  
[τα] ἔστησαν Διὶ κυρίῳ, ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίῳν εὐσεβείας χάριν.

**Date:** 37th equal to 32nd R.Y. of Agrippa II = 1 October AD 92 – 30 September AD 93.

56. *'AHIRE* block (?)  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 434, no. 1176; *PA* III, p. 310.

Ἔτους α' κυρίου αὐτοκράτορ-  
ος Νέρουα Καίσαρ <ο> <ς>,  
Γάφλος Μοαιέρου Πεπ.. ο-  
ικοδόμησεν ἀπὸ θεμελίων μέχ(ρι) (τέλους?).

**Date:** 1st R.Y. of Nerva = Fall AD 96.

*Comments:* Emperor Marcus Cocceius Nerva attained sovereignty on 18 September AD 96.

57. *JAFFA* stone mould for lead weights  
Bibl. *SEG* 31 (1981), p. 370, no. 1410.

<p>A. <b>Λ δ' αὐτοκρά- τορος Νέρουα Τραϊανοῦ Κ[αί]σ- αρος, ἀγορα[ν]- ομοῦν[τος] Ἰού[- δου] Τωζόμ(ου).</b></p>	<p>B. <b>Λ θ' αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀγορα- νομοῦντος Ἰούδου Τωζόμ(ου).</b></p>	<p>C. <b>&lt;L&gt; ιβ' αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀγορανο- μοῦντος Ἰούδου Τωζ(ό)μου.</b></p>
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**Date:** A. 4th R.Y. of Trajan = 10 December AD 99 – 9 December AD 100.

B. 9th R.Y. of Trajan = 10 December AD 104 – 9 December AD 105.

C. 12th R.Y. of Trajan = 10 December AD 107 – 9 December AD 108.

58. *DJEDIL* cornice  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, p. 432, no. 799.

[Ἀγα]θὴ τύχη. Ἔτους θ' Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρο(ς) Σεβαστοῦ, Μοκειμος Διο-  
γένους . . . βασκη[ --- ]  
θεῶ Μαλειχάθου εὐσειβῶν ἀνέθηκεν.

**Date:** 9th R.Y. of Trajan = 10 December AD 104 – 9 December AD 105.

59. *JAFFA*  
See R.Y. no. 57B.

60. *JAFFA*  
See R.Y. no. 57C.

61. *'AHIRE* block (?)  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 434, no. 1177.

Ἔτους ε' Ἀδριανοῦ.

**Date:** 5th R.Y. of Hadrian = 10 December AD 120 – 9 December AD 121.

62. *EL-KANAWAT* block  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 535, no. 2330; Ewing, pp. 270-71, no. 133; *IGRR* III, p. 451, no. 1224.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοκρ(άτορος) Τραϊανοῦ  
Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσα(ρος) Σεβ(αστοῦ) τοῦ κυρίου, διὰ



- Ἀσουαδάνου Ὀσαιέλου Θαίμου Βαδά-  
 ρου, Μοινίου Χαμαέους, Σαμεάτου Γαύτου,  
 5 Θέμου Δοαίου, -----, ἔτους η΄,  
 ἀγορανομῶντος Μ. Οὐλπίου Φιλιππικοῦ.

**Date:** 8th R.Y. of Hadrian = 10 December AD 123 – 9 December AD 124.

*Comments:* Ewing dates the inscription in AD 104-105, that is, during the reign of Trajan. This is completely wrong, because Trajan did not bear the cognomen “Hadrianus”.

63. *ΕΞ-ΣΑΝΑΜΕΙΝ* block  
 Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 424, no. 1130.

Ἄμερος Μαθείου  
 καὶ Ὀναινος ἀδε-  
 λφὸς ἐποίησα <ν> τὸ-  
 ν βωμὸν θεοῦ Δι-  
 5 ὃς ἐκ τῶν ιδίων,  
 ἔτ(ους) δεκάτου Ἀδρι-  
 ἀνοῦ Καίσαρος.

**Date:** 10th R.Y. of Hadrian = 10 December AD 125 – 9 December AD 126.

64. *HEBRÂN* block fragment  
 Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 302-303, no. 662A.

Ἐξ(ους) ιε΄ Ἀδρια[νοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος, --- ]  
 ΑΣ τοὺς υἱοὺς δ’ ἀνέθετο [ --- ὑπὲρ σω]-  
 τηρίας τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ [ --- ].

**Date:** 15th R.Y. of Hadrian = 10 December AD 130 – 9 December AD 131.

65. *MSÊKEH* altar  
 Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 418-19, no. 795<sup>7</sup>.

Λοσιθεμος Σά-  
 δου ἐποίησε-  
 ν τὸν βω-  
 μὸν θεῶ π-  
 5 ατρῶφ ἐκ τῶ[ν]  
 ιδίων, ἀσεβεί-  
 ας ἔνεκε, ἔτο-  
 υς ιζ΄ Ἀδριαν[ο]-  
 ῦ Καίσαρος.

**Date:** 17th R.Y. of Hadrian = 10 December AD 132 – 9 December AD 133.

66. *MSÊKEH* altar  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, p. 419, no. 795<sup>8</sup>.

---  
[. . . ἀ]γ[έθ]-  
[η] < κ > αγ θεῶ  
[Λο]αιθέ[μου],  
ἐτο[υς]  
εἰκοστοῦ κ[υ]-  
[ρ]ίου Ἀδριανοῦ  
[Κ]αίσαρος.

**Date:** 20th R.Y. of Hadrian = 10 December AD 135 – 9 December AD 136.

67. *ʾAHIRE* block  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 434, no. 1178.

Ἔτους γ' Ἀντων-  
εῖνου Σεβαστοῦ,  
Ἄννηλος Κελλεο-  
βάνου τοῦ Ναεβάθ-  
5 ου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
ἀνέθηκεν, εὐσε-  
[βείας χάριν].

**Date:** 3rd R.Y. of Antoninus Pius (?) = 10 December AD 139 – 9 December AD 140.

68. *DJRÊN* altar  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 402-403, no. 792; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 51, note 199.

Ἔτους γ' Ἀν-	(on a bevel
τωνί(ν)ου.	above the die)
Γάφαλ-	(in the dovetail)
ος Ἀμέ-	
ρου (?) ἐπό-	
ησεν τ-	
ῆ Ἀταργ-	
άτης.	

**Date:** 3rd R.Y. of Antoninus Pius (?) = 10 December AD 139 – 9 December AD 140.

69. *MEDJEL* block (?)  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 449, no. 1214.

[Ἔ]τους ε' Ἀντωνίν[ου] Καί[σαρος],  
Ἄνάιος Κλάρου ἐπόησεν.

**Date:** 5th R.Y. of Antoninus Pius = 10 December AD 141 – 9 December AD 142.

*Comments:* The appellation Antoninus associated with the title Caesar can also be applied to the emperors Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla and Elagabalus. However, Antoninus Pius seems to have been the sovereign involved since a similar combination of his name and title has been attested in: a) an inscription dated also by the era of provincia Arabia (no. 5), and b) two inscriptions also recording his full titulature (R.Y. nos. 73, 75).

70. 'ANZ block (?)  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, pp. 475-76, no. 1335.

Ἐποίησαν τῷ θεῷ Δ-  
ουσάρει οἱ ἐκ κοιν[οῦ]  
αὐτῶν ἱερεῦσ[α]ντες,  
ἔτους δεκάτου Ἀντωνεί-  
5 νου Καίσαρος, Αὐθός Μασ-  
άρχου, Αὐ-  
θός Ἀνέμου, Αὐ-  
θός Θαιμου·  
Ἀνναμος Κάδου, [οἰ]κ-  
10 οδόμο[ς].

**Date:** 10th R.Y. of Antoninus Pius = 10 December AD 146 – 9 December AD 147.

*Comments:* For the identification of this ruler with Antoninus Pius see inscr. no. 69.

71. MADABA  
See E.P.A. no. 5.

72. AMMAN  
See C.C. no. 29.

73. 'ATĪL anta  
Bibl. *AAES* III, pp. 326-27, no. 427a.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου Καίσαρ-  
ος Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐ-  
σεβοῦς(ς), Οὐάδδηλος Μαθείου τοῦ Οὐ-  
α(δ)δήλου τὰς παραστάδας καὶ κιόν(ι)-  
5 α καὶ τ[ῶ]ν ἐπάνω αὐτῶν ἐπιστύλια καὶ  
καλί(α)ς ἐκ τῶ(ν) ιδίων ἐποίησεν, ἔτους  
ιδ' Ἀντωνείνου Κ(αίσαρ)ος.

**Date:** 14th R.Y. of Antoninus Pius = 10 December AD 150 – 9 December AD 151.

- 74.
- EL-MUSHENNEF*
- block

Bibl. R.F. Burton and Ch.F.T. Drake, *Unexplored Syria II* (London 1872), p. 387, no. 127; *PA III*, p. 322.

[Ἔτους] ιε' τοῦ κυρίου Ἀντο[νείνου]  
[. . . .<sup>ca.5</sup> .] ΟΥ φυλῆς Χαυχαβ[ηνῶν]  
[. . . .<sup>ca.5</sup> .] τευσάντων κίον[ας . . .]  
[. . . .<sup>ca.5</sup> .] ἡμερῶν οἶνον [ . . . . ].

**Date:** 15th R.Y. of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 151 – 9 December AD 152 or 10 December AD 174 – 9 December AD 175, respectively.

- 75.
- HEBRÂN*
- lintel

Bibl. *PAES IIIA5*, pp. 300-301, no. 659.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου  
Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, ὁ ναὸς ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἐκτίσθη, ἔτους ὀκτωκαι-  
δεκάτου Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος, προνοησαμένων Ἀριστείδου Θαίμου,  
Οαιθέλου  
Ἐμμέγνου, Ἐμμεγάνη Χαμένου, ἐγδ(ὶ)κον Θαίμ[ο]ν Ἀβχόρου, Ἐνου Μα-  
σέχου, Ἐμμεγάνη Νάρου, ἱεροταμίον.

**Date:** 18th R.Y. of Antoninus Pius = 10 December AD 154 – 9 December AD 155.

- 76.
- HEBRÂN*
- fragment of a lintel

Bibl. *IGRR III*, p. 468, no. 1294; *PAES IIIA5*, pp. 303-304, no. 663.

[Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκ]ράτορος Ἀνω-  
[νείνου Σεβαστοῦ θ]εῶ Λυκούργω  
[. . . . .<sup>ca.16</sup> . . . . .] οὐετρανὸς ἀπὸ  
[λεγ (?) . . . . .<sup>ca.13</sup> . . . . .] ἐκ τ[ῶν] ιδίων ἀνέ-  
5 θηκεν εὐσεβείας χάρι]ν, ἔτους ιθ'.

**Date:** 19th R.Y. of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 155 – 9 December AD 156 or 10 December AD 178 – 9 December AD 179.

- 77.
- 'AHIRE*
- lintel

Bibl. Ewing, p. 155, no. 104; *IGRR III*, pp. 434-35, no. 1179.

Ἔτους θ', ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου)  
Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου Σεβ(αστοῦ), Ἀρμενιακοῦ, Παρθικοῦ, Μη-  
δικοῦ, Μεγίστου, ἐπὶ Ἀουϊδίου Κασσίου τοῦ λαμπροτά-  
του ὑπατικοῦ, ἐφεστῶτος Τ(ίτου) Αὐρηλίου Κυριναλίου,

- 5 [ἐκατοντάρχου] λεγ(εῶνος) γ' Γαλλικῆς, Τ(ίτος) Κλ(αύδιος) Μάγνος,  
οὔετρανὸς Ἀεριτηνός,  
ἀνέγειρεν τὴν πύλην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπὸ θεμελίων μέχρι τέλους.

**Date:** 9th R.Y. of Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 168 – 9 December AD 169.

*Comments:* The precise starting point for counting Marcus Aurelius' regnal years in this inscription would probably be 7 March AD 161, when he invited his adopted brother, L. Verus, to share the imperial office with him. Thus, his second regnal year (which adhered to the reckoning of tribunates) would have started on 10 December of the same year. Consequently, the ninth regnal year of the emperor would fall between 10 December AD 168 and 9 December AD 169, i.e. before L. Verus' death (winter AD 169), when the former rejected his surnames Armeniacus Parthicus Maximus and Medicus (Cagnat, p. 200). The legation of C. Avidius Cassius (AD 169-170), whose name is also included in the inscription, confirms the correctness of this reckoning (*PIR* I, p. 282, no. 1402).

78. *BUSÂN* block  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 461, no. 1270.

Ἔτους θ' αὐτοκρ(άτορος) Μ(άρκου) Α-  
ύρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου  
καὶ Αὐδίου Κασίου ὑπα(τικοῦ) ΓΑ

- 5 ΑΓΚΤΙΣ ἡ κώμη εὐχαριστεῖ.

**Date:** 9th R.Y. of Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 168 – 9 December AD 169.

79. *SALCHAD* fragment of moulding  
Bibl. F. Bleckmann, *ZDPV* 36 (1913), pp. 226-27; *PAES* IIIA2, pp. 91-92, no. 155; Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 52-54.

- 1 [Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου Κλαίσαρος Σεβ(αστοῦ), Εὐσεβ(οῦς), Ἀρμ(ενιακοῦ), Μηδ(ικοῦ), Παρθ(ικοῦ), Μεγ(ίστου), ἐπὶ [[Ἀουτῖδίου Κασίου τοῦ]]  
λα(μπροτάτου ὑπατικοῦ)  
2 [[-----]]ς ἔτους ἐνάτου, ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἐκτ(ίσθη).

**Date:** 9th R.Y. of Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 168 – 9 December AD 169.

*Comments:* For computation of Marcus Aurelius' regnal years see above inscr. no. 77.

80. *EL-KANAWAT* lintel (?)  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 452, no. 1226.

Ὑπὲρ σω[τη]ρίας [αὐτο]κρ(άτορος) Καίσ(αρος) Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου  
Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβ(αστοῦ), ἔτ(ους) ι´, [[ἐπὶ Ἀουῖδίου Κασσίου]]  
πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) [[άντιστρατήγου – – ]]

**Date:** 10th R.Y. of Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 169 – 9 December AD 170.

81. *NEDJRÂN* block (?)  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 433, no. 1171; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 55, note 236.

Ἐτους ι´ Αὐρηλίου Ἀν[τωνεῖνου]  
οἱ ἀπὸ φυλῆς Ὀγνεδηγ[ῶν] ...

**Date:** 10th R.Y. of Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 169 – 9 December AD 170.

82. *EL-MUSHENNEF* block  
Bibl. *AAES* III, pp. 298-99, no. 380a.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτο-  
ρος Καίσαρος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖ-  
νου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος οἰ-  
κου καὶ νείκης ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου, ἐ[[πὶ Ἀουῖ-  
5 δίου Κασσίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ὑπατι-  
κοῦ]] καὶ Κυριναλίου Γεμέλλου, ἑκατοντάρχου.

**Date:** 11th R.Y. of Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 170 – 9 December AD 171.

83. *SÛR* block  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 427, no. 1143.

Ἐτους ιε´ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντονίν-  
ου Σεβ(αστοῦ), Σαυρῶν τὸ κοινὸν οἰκοδό-  
μασαν μετὰ τῶν θρησκε <υ> ὄντω-  
ν θεῶ Μαλειχάθου, ἐφεστῶτω-  
5 ν Γ(αῖου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Τερεντιανοῦ Αὔσου κα <ι>  
Μαλειχάθου Μαΐορος καὶ Σεμπρ-  
ωνίου Ἀδριανοῦ Μαξίμου καὶ Ἀσλάμου Ἀβεΐβου.

**Date:** 15th R.Y. of Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 174 – 9 December AD 175.

84. *DJENEINE* lintel  
Bibl. Waddington, p. 510, no. 2186.

[Ἔτους] ιη' Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Καίσαρος ἐθεμελ-  
[ιώθη] ἡ οἰκία ἐκ -----  
-----  
----- [ὕπὲρ σωτη]ρίας τῶν κυρ(ί)ων.

**Date:** 18th R.Y. of Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 177 – 9 December AD 178.

*Comments:* The emperor in question is Marcus Aurelius whose 18th regnal year lasted from 10 December AD 177 to 9 December AD 178. From late AD 176 to AD 180 this emperor exercised the supreme authority in conjunction with his son Commodus. This joint reign is implied by the final phrase of this inscription, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν κυρ(ί)ων, which refers to two – at least – emperors. The name Verus is exceptionally used to style M. Aurelius in this late date. This ruler bore the name Verus after his adoption by Antoninus Pius but M. Aurelius abandoned it upon his ascension to the throne.

85. *HEBRÂN* two blocks  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 301-302, no. 661; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 51, note 198.

A. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Μάρ(κου) Αὐρη[λίου] Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβ(αστοῦ), προ-  
νοία τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ  
κ < α > ἰ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μονίμου αἰ | ----- |  
B. εὐσεβίας ἔνεκεν αὐτοῦ β | ----- |  
I, ἔτους(ς) ὀκτ[ὶ] (κ)α(ι) [δ]ε[κά]του, Δα[μ]σίου ----- |

**Date:** 18th R.Y. of Marcus Aurelius = 10 December AD 177 – 9 December AD 178.

86. *KHABAB* block  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 424, no. 1133.

Ἔτους ς' Κο-  
μόδου  
Κα < ι > σαρως.

**Date:** 6th R.Y. of Commodus = 10 December AD 180 – 9 December AD 181.

*Comments:* For the starting point of reckoning Commodus' regnal years see text above, p. 360.

87. *SUWEIDA (Dionysias)* lintel  
Bibl. Waddington, pp. 529-30, no. 2308; *IGRR* III, p. 463, no. 1276.

Ἔτους η' κυρίου  
Καίσαρος Μ(άρκου) [[Κομόδου]] Ἀντωνίνου, ἐπὶ Δο-  
μιτιτίου Δέξτρου ὑ-  
πατικοῦ, ἡ πόλις τοῦς

- 5 ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἀγω-  
 γοὺς Ἄρρων, Καινά-  
 θων, Ἀφετάθων, Ὀρ-  
 σούων, ἐπεσκεύα-  
 σεν καὶ κατεσκεύασεν, καὶ τὸν ναὸν  
 10 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν Ἄρ-  
 ροῖς σὺν τοῖς ἀγάλ-  
 μασιν ἀνέστησε,  
 ἐπισκοπούσης φυ-  
 λῆς Σομαιθηνῶν.

Date: 8th R.Y. of Commodus = 10 December AD 182 – 9 December AD 183.

88. *EL-MUSHENNEF* block (?)  
 Bibl. Waddington, p. 515, no. 2213; *IGRR* III, p. 460, no. 1262.

Ἵπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης κυρίου Καίσα-  
 ρος Κομόδου, ἐπὶ Ἀσελλίου Αἰμιλιαν[οῦ υἱ]-  
 πατικοῦ, ἐφεστῶτος Ἀγικίου Ῥωμανοῦ (ἐκατοντάρχου?),  
 τὸ κοινὸν Μανηνῶν ἔκτισεν τὸ ὑπε-  
 5 ρῶν, διὰ Τ < α > ννήλου Ἐβρικάνου καὶ Σα-  
 μέθου Ῥαβέου ----- ἔτους ι'.

Date: 10th R.Y. of Commodus = 10 December AD 184 – 9 December AD 185.

89. *RAMLEH* fragment of a column  
 Bibl. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 7 (1905), pp. 174-77 § 20.

[Ε]τους ιβ' αὐτοκ[ράτορος]  
 [Κ]αίσαρος Κομμ[όδου]  
 [Α]ντωνεῖν[ου Σε]-  
 [β]αστοῦ, τοῦ κ(υρίου) [Α]λε-  
 5 ξαμήνου [τοῦ Ἀπολ]-  
 (λ)οδόττου τοῦ Μιλ]-  
 τιάδου ἔγερε[ις ?]  
 προέδρου [ --- ]  
 ζ'.

Date: 12th R.Y. of Commodus = 10 December AD 186 – 9 December AD 187.

90. *GERASA* nine architrave blocks  
 Bibl. Welles, *Gerasa*, pp. 406-407, no. 69.

<sup>A</sup>  
 Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἵπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου δια-  
<sup>B</sup> <sup>C</sup>  
 μωνῆς Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου]



<sup>D</sup>  
 [Κομμόδου] <sup>E</sup> Ἀντωνίν[ου] Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
<sup>F</sup>  
 Σαρματικοῦ Βρεταν[νικοῦ] Εὐτυχοῦς, π(ατρὸς)  
<sup>G</sup> <sup>H</sup>  
 [π(ατρίδος)], δημαρχικῆς [ἐξουσίας τὸ ιε'], ὑπάτου  
<sup>I</sup> <sup>K</sup> <sup>L</sup>  
 [τὸ ς'], κρατήσεος ἔτο[υς] πεντε[και]δεκάτου [καὶ  
 σύνπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου καὶ ὁμονοίας ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου]  
<sup>A</sup> <sup>B</sup> <sup>C</sup> <sup>D</sup>  
 καὶ δ[ι]ήμ[ι]ου τῶν Ῥ[ω]μαίων [-], ἡ πόλις Ἀ[ν]τιο-  
<sup>E</sup> <sup>F</sup>  
 χ[ι]έων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Χρυσορόφ[ω] τῶν [πρ]ότε[ρ]ον  
<sup>G</sup> <sup>H</sup> <sup>I</sup>  
 [Γερασινῶν]. Ἔτους [δευτέρου πεντηκοστοῦ] διακοσι-  
<sup>K</sup> <sup>L</sup>  
 οστοῦ, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ [...].

**Date:** Commodus' 15th R.Y., [15]th trib. pot., [6]th cons., Xanthikos 252 Ger.E. = March – April AD 190.

**Comments:** The numerals indicating the tribunates and consulships as well as the year by the Gerasene era are restored according to the regnal years of Commodus and reckoned from AD 176 (see text on Regnal Years, p. 360).

91. *ES-SANAMEIN* lintel  
 Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 290-92, no. 652.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτ(ορος) Λουκί[ου] Αὐ-  
 ρηλίου Κομμόδου]] Σεβ(αστοῦ) Εὐσεβ(οῦς) Εὐτυχοῦς,  
 Ἰούλιος Γερμανός, (ἐκατοντάρ)χ(ης) [[λεγ(εῶνος γ' Γαλλικῆς)], ὁ εὐερ-  
 γέτης Αἰρησίων καὶ κτίστης, τὸν σηκὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπι-  
 γραφῆς συνετέλεσεν καὶ τὸ Τυχαῖον ἀφιέρωσεν, ἔτους ις'.

**Date:** 16th R.Y. of Commodus = 10 December AD 190 – 9 December AD 191.

92. *EL-KANAWAT* blocks over a niche  
 Bibl. *AAES* III, pp. 316-17, no. 406; *PA* III, p. 321; Sartre, *Trois études*, p.55, note 234.

Ἔτους ια' κυρίου Σε[ου]ήρου].  
 Αὐξονι μάκαρι.

**Date:** 11th R.Y. of Septimius Severus = 10 December AD 202 – 9 December AD 203.

- 93.
- HARRÂN*
- block

Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 428, no. 1149; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 55, note 237 and pp. 58-59.

Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν κυρίων Λ(ουκίου)  
 Σεπ(τιμίου) Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνείνου  
 κ[αὶ Γέτα], υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἰου(λίας) Δό<μ>-  
 ν[η]ς Σεβ(αστή), ἔτους ιζ´, [ἐπὶ <sup>ca.</sup>4]ητιανοῦ,  
 5 [πρεσβ(ευτοῦ)] Σεβ(αστῶν) [άν]τ<ι> στρ(ατήγου), ----- ] ME  
 [Σ]ΕΝ διὰ [Α]ῦσου ΛΑΝ[-----].

**Date:** 17th R.Y. of Septimius Severus reigning with Caracalla and Geta = 10 December AD 208 – 9 December AD 209.

- 94.
- MDJÊDIL*
- block

Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 385-86, no. 787; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 55, note 232.

Ἔτους ἕκτου αὐτοκράτ-  
 ορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρ(ηλίου)  
 Σεουήρου [Ἀλεξάνδρου],  
 Αὐρ(ηλίου) Μαρρεῖνος Ἀβχόρου  
 5 καὶ Οὐάβηλος Ἀβγάρου, εἰατρ-  
 οτομεῖς, ἐκ τοῦ κυνοῦ τῆς κ-  
 ώμης οἰκοδόμησαν Βερθη-  
 νοί.

**Date:** 6th R.Y. of Severus Alexander = 10 December AD 226 – 9 December AD 227.

- 95.
- UMMEZ-ZEITUN*
- two blocks

Bibl. Waddington, p. 578, no. 2543; *IGRR* III, p. 436, no. 1184; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 55, note 231.

Ἔτους ς´, ἀγαθ[ῇ] τύχῃ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος]  
 Σεουήρου Ἀλε[ξ]άν[δρο]υ, [----- ὁ δεῖναι]  
 Ἰουλ[ί]ου, ἄξως Κασσιανοῦ, Μαλίχαθος Ἀρχελαίου  
 [καὶ] Δομιτ[ι]ανός] υἱός [-----].

**Date:** 6th R.Y. of Severus Alexander = 10 December AD 226 – 9 December AD 227.

- 96.
- SUWEIDA (Dionysias)*
- lintel

Bibl. Waddington, pp. 530-31, no. 2309; *IGRR* III, p. 463, no. 1277.

Ἔτους ι´ [τοῦ ἡμῶν] κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος [Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου  
 Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Σεβαστοῦ], ὑπατεύοντος Ἰουλίου

Σατορνεΐνου, ἡ πόλις τὸ κτίσμα σὺν ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ παντὶ κόσμῳ  
κα[[τεσκευάσεν]],  
ἐπισκοποῦντων βουλευτῶν φυλῆς Βιταινηῶν,  
προνοίᾳ κυρίου κτίστου Διονύσου.

**Date:** 10th R.Y. of Severus Alexander = 10 December AD 230 – 9 December AD 231.

*Comments:* The obliterated emperor's name is that of Severus Alexander. Waddington has rightly proposed this restoration on the basis of the following facts: a) only the names of Commodus and Severus Alexander were effaced on the monuments of the second and third centuries AD, b) the duration of their reign, and c) the legate in charge. As our inscription no. 88 proves, in the tenth regnal year of Commodus the Syrian legate was Asellius Aemilianus.

97. *LUBBÉN* lintel

Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 404-407, no. 793; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 55, note 233.

Ἔτους ια΄ κυρίου [[Μ(άρκου) Αὐ]]ρ(ηλίου) Ἀγ[γ]ωνεΐνου Σεβ(αστοῦ)],  
τὸ κοινὸν Ἀγραΐνης ἐποίησεν θ(ε)ῶ Αὔμου, διὰ Αὐρ(ηλίου)  
Πλάτωνος Βαρβάρου καὶ Ἀβούνου Χαιράνου(υ),  
ιεροταμέων.

**Date:** 11th R.Y. of Severus Alexander (?) = 10 December AD 231 – 9 December AD 232.

98. *EL-HÎT* block

Bibl. Waddington, pp. 497-98, no. 2114; *IGRR* III, p. 425, no. 1137; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 55, note 235.

Ἔτους ιβ΄ κυρίου ἡ-  
μῶν [[Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου]]  
Εὐτυχ(οῦς) Σεβ(αστοῦ), Οὐρος Νοαΐρου  
καὶ Οὐαρος Χάρητος Χελιδό-  
5 νος, ἱεροταμίαι [----- θεᾶ]ς  
τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἀνήγειραν  
ἐξ ἱερατικῶν, ἐπὶ Ἡρα-  
κλίτου Χάρητος στρατηγοῦ.

**Date:** 12th (?) R.Y. of Severus Alexander = 10 December AD 232 – 9 December AD 233.

*Comments:* Waddington read the year figure ιε΄. This numeral (=AD 235/6) is completely incompatible with Severus Alexander's reign which ended with his death in the early part of AD 235.

99. *LUBBÉN* lintel

Bibl. *PAES* IIIA7, pp. 407-408, no. 793<sup>1</sup>; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 55, note 233.

Ἔτους ιβ΄ κυρίου Καίσαρος

Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὸ κυνὸν Ἀγραίνης ἐπ[ό]-  
ησεν θεῷ Αὔμου, δι(ὰ) Πλάτωνος  
καὶ Ἀβούνου.

**Date:** 12th R.Y. of Severus Alexander = 10 December AD 232 – 9 December AD 233.

100. *UMM EZ-ZEITUN* block  
Bibl. *IGRR* III, p. 436, no. 1185; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 55, note 231.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἐτ(ους) β´ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Τρα-  
ϊανοῦ [[Δεκίου]], Δόμηχος Χασέτου  
κὴ Πausανίας Μονίμου, ἱεροταμίαι θε-  
οῦ Κρόνου, ἐκ τ[ῶ]ν τοῦ θεοῦ ᾠκοδόμησαν.

**Date:** 2nd R.Y. of Decius = AD 249 or 250.

*Comments:* Decius' tribunes are reckoned either from the day he was proclaimed "Imperator" by the Moesian troops (AD 248) or the death of Philip I and his son (autumn AD 249). It has also been argued that their renewal occurred on the 1st January instead of the 10th of December (Cagnat, p. 219).

101. *UMM EZ-ZEITUN* block  
Bibl. *PAES* IIIA5, pp. 357-58, no. 765<sup>12</sup>; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 55, note 231.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.  
Υπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης  
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)  
Πρόβου Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἔτ(ους) ζ´, ἐκτίσθη  
5 ἡ ἱερὰ καλὺβη ὑπὸ κοινοῦ  
τῆς κώμης, εὐτυχῶς.

**Date:** 7th R.Y. of Probus = 10 December AD 281 – 2 September AD 282.

102. *BEIT SURIK* mosaic pavement  
Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 36, no. 239.

+ Ἐπὶ τοῦ | -- Στε[φάν(ου) δ-  
ιακό[ν(ου) κ(αὶ) -- ]κου άν-  
α[γνώστου? κ(αὶ) -- ]  
κ(αὶ) Ε[ -- κ(αὶ)]  
5 Ζωσι[ίμου -- ἐν Ε]-  
τ(ε)ι κε' κ(υρ)ίου Ἀ[ναστασίου τὸ π]-  
ᾶν ἔργον ἐ[τελιώθη].

**Date:** 25th R.Y. of A[nastasius] = 11 April AD 515 – 10 April AD 516.

103. *EL-TA'LE'* two blocks  
Bibl. *CIG* IV, p. 304, no. 8651; Waddington, p. 549, no. 2412b.

Ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ  
πρωτεύω[ν]

Ἡλίας Κοσέσου,  
ἐκτισεν,  
5 βασιλεύ[οντος]  
Ἰουστινιανοῦ  
τῷ ια΄ ἔτει,  
ἔτ(ους) [υ]λγ΄.

**Date:** 11th R.Y. of Justinian, [4]33 E.P.A. = 22 March – 31 July AD 538.

**Comments:** Justinian's 11th regnal year lasted from 1 August AD 537 until 31 July AD 538. The 433rd year according to the provincial era extended from 22 March AD 538 to 21 March AD 539.

104. *AIN-SAMIEH* drum of a column

Bibl. F.M. Abel, *RB* n.s. 4 (1907), pp. 275-76; A.S. Macalister, *PEFQS* 1907, pp. 237-38, no. V; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* VIII (1924), pp. 88-93, § 12.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπ(ότου)  
Εὐστοχίου τοῦ ἀ(ρχιεπισκό)-  
που (καὶ) τοῦ εὐσεβεσ(τάτου βασι)-  
<λ> ἔος Ἰουστινια(νοῦ)  
5 ἔτους λ΄, ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ε΄, π(ρονοίᾳ)  
Σερ(γ)ίου? περιοδ(ευτοῦ)  
καρποφο(ρήσ)α(ντος),  
Σεργίου Ζ[.ca.4.] Η  
ἐπι(σκόπου).

**Date:** 30th R.Y. of Justinian, 5th ind. = 1 September AD 556 – 31 July AD 557.

105. *JERICOH* mosaic pavement

Bibl. *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 48, no. 315.

+ Θήκη μακαρι-  
ωτάτου Κυρια-  
κοῦ, πρεσβ(υτέρου)  
(καὶ) ἡγουμένου,  
5 τοῦ (καὶ) συνστη-  
σαμένου τὸ  
εὐαγὲς εὐκτή-  
ριον τοῦ ἀγίου  
(καὶ) ἐνδόξου μάρ-  
10 τυρος Γεωργί-  
ου (καὶ) δωρησαμέ-  
νη (sic) τῇ ἀγιωτά(τῃ)  
νέᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς  
ἐνδόξου Θεοτόκου  
15 ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Ἐ-  
τελεύτησεν μηνὶ

Δεκεμβρίου ια', ἰν(δικτιῶνος)  
 ιε', βασιλείας τοῦ δεσ-  
 πότης ἡμῶν Φλα(ουῖου)  
 20 Ἰουστίνου ἔτους  
 τὸ β'.

**Date:** 2nd R.Y. of Justin II, 11 December, 15th ind. = 11 December AD 566.

106. *KHIRBET EL-BEİYŪDĀT* mosaic pavement  
 Bibl. L. Di Segni in G.C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and E. Alliata (eds.), *Christian Archaeology in the Holy-Land. New Discoveries (SBFCollM 36, Jerusalem 1990)*, pp. 268-270, no. 4.

Ἐπὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς βασιλείας τοῦ  
 δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλ(αουῖου) Ἰουστίνου ἐγρά-  
 φη ἐν μη(νὶ) Νοεμβρίου ιβ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δ' (καὶ) διὰ τοῦ  
 θεοφ(ιλεστάτου) πρεσβ(υτέρου) Ἀββοσοῦββ(ου) (καὶ) Ἐλισέ[ου]  
 5 Σαορας Σελαμ(άνου) (καὶ) Στέφανος (καὶ) Γεοργ(ίου) ἐψ(ηφώθη).

**Date:** 12 November, 4th ind., reign of Justin II = 12 November AD 570.

*Comments:* L. Di Segni identifies the emperor of this inscription with Justin II, because the text is in a way palaeographically similar to a funerary inscription from neighbouring Jericho (our no. 105) mentioning the same emperor. As for the exact date she rightly suggests that it can be fixed on the basis of the fourth indictional year which fell only once in Justin II's reign, in 570/1.

107. *JERUSALEM (Mount of Olives)* funerary slab  
 Bibl. J. Germer-Durand, *RB* 1 (1892), pp. 572-73, no. 18; idem, *EchO* 11 (1908), pp. 305-306, no. II.

-----  
 [------] λαχοῦσα Θεοδοσία  
 [κουβικουλαρία ἀν]απρέψασα σῶμα  
 [------] φ[αινό]μενον τῇ  
 [------] ἐνε[γκα]μένη τὸν  
 [------] φαν[έν]τι Χ(ριστῷ) τῷ Θεῷ ἡ-  
 [μῶν] -----] ἐν δὲ εἰς οὐ(ρα)νὸν  
 [------] ἐνε[γκα]μένη μοναχοῖς  
 [------] ]KON ἀνθούσους KH  
 [------] Σε]πτεμβρ(ίου) ιδ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ια', βα-  
 [σιλείας Μαυρικίου δού]λ(ου) Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἔτους ια'.

**Date:** 14 September, 11th ind., 11th R.Y. of Mauricius = 14 September AD 592.

*Comments:* Germer-Durand hypothetically restored in the mutilated space of the last line the name of the emperor Mauricius on the grounds of the coincidence of an eleventh indiction with an eleventh regnal year only during the reign of this emperor.

## CONCLUSIONS

The social structure, the political organization and the historical vicissitudes of Palestine and Arabia determined the character and distribution of the chronological systems employed in those areas.<sup>1</sup> The prosperity and autonomy of cities with Greek tradition encouraged individual eras, while the assumption of the power of an extensive region by a monarch or the control of a province by a central government was propagandized or advertised through dynastic or provincial eras, respectively.

In the time of the Ptolemaic occupation, Hellenistic Palestine reckoned by the regnal years of the relevant rulers.<sup>2</sup> From 201 BC, when the Seleucids conquered Palestine, until 143/2 BC the Seleucid era replaced the dynastic era of the Lagids and became the legitimate dating system. Practically, the Seleucid era was employed in Judaea and the adjacent areas until the first century BC alongside the official dating by the years of the Hasmonaeen kings.<sup>3</sup>

Roman intervention in Palestinian affairs did not immediately affect the dating systems of the Jews. The latter were, however, compelled to compute the time by the ruling years of the Roman emperor, when a Roman procurator was appointed in Judaea.<sup>4</sup> The Jewish predilection for eras related to events of their national history was satisfied on many occasions in the centuries to come. During their two revolts, in AD 66-70 and 132-135, they employed the "era of Zion's freedom" and the "era of Israel's freedom", respectively.<sup>5</sup> In late antiquity the Jewish communities counted the years according to the creation of the world or the destruction of the temple.<sup>6</sup>

City eras were introduced in the urban units disentangled from Seleucid or Hasmonaeen authority during the second and first centuries BC (Tyrian, Ascalonian, Pompeian eras) and in those founded, extended or benefited by Roman sovereigns in the first centuries before and after Christ, as well as at the end of the second century AD (eras of Ptolemais, Samaria-Sebaste, Caesarea Paneas, Tiberias, Eleutheropolis).<sup>7</sup>

Foundation or refoundation of cities in the third century AD, due to imperial interest and generosity, was also commemorated by city eras in the territory of the Roman province of Arabia which from the time of its creation (AD 106) used its own era. The establishment and diffusion of the provincial era in the new political unit

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1. W.H. Waddington, "Les ères employées en Syrie", *CRAI* n.s. 1 (1865), p. 36.

2. H.-P. Kuhn, *Palästina in griechisch-römischer Zeit (Handbuch der Archäologie, Vorderasien II vol. 2, Munich 1990)*, pp. 36-37.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 37 and note 2.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 123 and note 1.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24 and note 2.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

7. See the relevant chapters.

were facilitated by the impact of the previous dating system. Reckoning by the regnal years of the Nabataean kings<sup>8</sup> was the sole mode used to count the years across the Nabataean kingdom until its annexation to the Roman empire, when it was transformed into provincia Arabia. Thus, the provincial era replaced the Nabataean system to compute years in the same way that the Roman administration abolished the Nabataean sovereignty.

But computation according to the ruling years of the Roman emperors was not given up despite the invention and effective function of so many eras. A decisive revival of this dating method occurred in the sixth century AD, when the various political eras gradually began to be put out of use. This happened in favour of other chronological systems, either known long ago, such as the astronomical-political era of Diocletian and the indiction cycles, or imposed by the Muslim invaders (Hegira era).<sup>9</sup>

Analogous diversity is attested in the calendars too. The influence of the Egyptian calendar retreated along with the Ptolemaic troops in 201 BC. Only the areas adjacent to Egypt – the southwestern tip of future Palaestina Prima – remained loyal to it. On the contrary, the lunisolar Seleucid calendar was propagated in the Palestinian lands conquered by the Seleucids. Probably the calendar of the Nabataean kingdom (later the Roman province of Arabia) had also been affected by the Babylonian calendar on which the Seleucid one was modelled. Babylonian influence is easily detected in the Jewish calendar as well.

The Egyptian and Seleucid legacy, the adjustments to correlate the seasons with the months (intercalations), the freedom of the city magistrates to regulate their calendar as well as the arrival of the solar Julian calendar (in the time of Octavian Augustus) resulted in a great number of local calendars. Although those calendars had varying lengths of months and beginnings of years, they can be more or less grouped into two categories distributed in two distinct geographical areas: a) the Syro-Macedonian ones, i.e. Julianized Seleucid calendars encountered in Palestines First (save Gaza and Ascalon) and Second (eventually belonging to this group are the Gerasene and Scythopolitan calendars), and b) the Egypto-Macedonian ones, i.e. calendaric systems based on the Egyptian prototype used in Gaza, Ascalon, probably Raphia, Third Palestine and province of Arabia. The calendars of Tyre and eventually of Caesarea and Ptolemais-Acco, essentially of Egyptian structure with a superficial Roman touch, are closely related to the second category.

By the sixth century AD the Julian calendaric nomenclature, sporadically introduced from the fourth century AD, supplanted extensively the Macedonian one, although the adoption of the true Julian calendar (especially in terms of the year start) was bound to wait for centuries. In the seventh century AD the Muslim conquerors brought along with their army their own lunar calendar.

Regionalism, variety of inscription types, differential education of the lapicide or the mosaicist, ignorance of writing conventions hindered any uniformity in the dating formulae. But despite these stumbling-blocks some general remarks regarding the typology of the dating clause can be made. The date, comprising only era year until

8. Y. Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins* (Qedem 3, Jerusalem 1975), passim.

9. These chronological systems to count the years are attested in inscriptions, papyri, historical and legal documents from the sixth century AD onwards. The mundial eras (ἄλλο κτίσεως κόσμου) devised from the third century AD are found in the texts of the Byzantine chronographers. For these see Arvanitakis, *Χρονολογία*, pp. 37-39; Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 2-29, 56-128; Bickerman, *Chronology*, pp. 73-74.



the second century AD, is expanded gradually through the addition of month (sporadically until the fifth century and quite often later on), indiction year (from the mid-fifth century AD) and occasionally week day (in the sixth-seventh centuries AD). Era year and less often month day or even indiction year numerals are inverted in areas with a Ptolemaic or Seleucid past.

The usual place for the short dating phrase was at the top of the text until the second century AD. From that time onwards the longer dating form moved to the bottom of the inscription, although it can be found sometimes in the beginning or amid the text. Simultaneous reckoning by era-regnal year, indiction year, month+month day is a common practice only in the sixth century AD. The appropriate words to escort the year, month, indiction, day, hour numerals precede or follow the numbers and are rendered in various cases and not standardized abbreviations.

The Greek dated inscriptions of the first seven (and to a lesser degree of the eighth) centuries AD fall in the period of the rise and decline of the political eras and of the emergence of local calendars in the area. By recording dates according to various reckoning systems they furnish ample evidence for the study of the chronological matters related to the Greek epigraphy of Israel and Jordan.



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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

The figures appearing in the chronological tables and indices refer to numbers of inscriptions while the letters in front of them correspond to the abbreviations of eras (see the respective list in p. 20). The Pompeian Eras bear first the general abbreviation *P.E.* and then the abbreviation of the specific Pompeian era, while the abbreviations *rest.* and *mut.* stand for the words restored and mutilated, respectively.

TABLE I

#### Letters of the Greek alphabet serving as numerals with their Arabic equivalent figures

<i>units</i>		<i>tens</i>		<i>hundreds</i>			
Greek letters	Arabic figures	Greek letters	Arabic figures	Greek letters	Arabic figures	Greek letters	Arabic figures
α'	1	ι'	10	κ'	20	ρ'	100
β'	2	ια'	11	λ'	30	σ'	200
γ'	3	ιβ'	12	μ'	40	τ'	300
δ'	4	ιγ'	13	ν'	50	υ'	400
ε'	5	ιδ'	14	ξ'	60	φ'	500
ς'	6	ιε'	15	ο'	70	χ'	600
ζ'	7	ις'	16	π'	80	ψ'	700
η'	8	ιζ'	17	ϛ'	90	ω'	800
θ'	9	ιη'	18			ϝ'	900
		ιθ'	19				

TABLE II

## Table of indictions according to the Era of Provincia Arabia

(after Brünnow and Domaszewski, *PA* III, p. 307, expanded until our last dated inscription)

Ind. (1 Sept.)		α'	β'	γ'	δ'	ε'	ς'	ζ'	η'	θ'	ι'	ια'	ιβ'	ιγ'	ιδ'	ιε'	
March 312/313	σζ	ση	σθ	σι	σια	σιβ	σιγ	σιδ	σιε	σις	σιζ	σιη	σιθ	σκ	σκα	σκβ	
327/328	σκβ	σκγ	σκδ	σκε	σκς	σκζ	σκη	σκη	σλ	σλα	σλβ	σλγ	σλδ	σλε	σλς	σλζ	
342/343	σλζ	σλη	σλθ	σλ	σμα	σμβ	σμγ	σμδ	σμε	σμς	σμζ	σμη	σμθ	σν	σνα	σνβ	
357/358	σνβ	σνγ	σνδ	σνε	σνς	σνζ	σνη	σνθ	σξ	σξα	σξβ	σξγ	σξδ	σξε	σξς	σξζ	
372/373	σξζ	σξη	σξθ	σο	σοα	σοβ	σογ	σοδ	σοε	σος	σoζ	σοη	σοθ	σπ	σπα	σπβ	
387/388	σπβ	σπγ	σπδ	σπε	σπς	σπζ	σπη	σπθ	σ4	σ4α	σ4β	σ4γ	σ4δ	σ4ε	σ4ς	σ4ζ	
402/403	σ4ζ	σ4η	σ4θ	τ	τα	τβ	τγ	τδ	τε	τς	τζ	τη	τθ	τι	τια	τιβ	
417/418	τιβ	τιγ	τιδ	τιε	τις	τιζ	τιη	τιθ	τκ	τκα	τκβ	τκγ	τκδ	τκε	τκς	τκζ	
432/433	τκζ	τκη	τκθ	τλ	τλα	τλβ	τλγ	τλδ	τλε	τλς	τλζ	τλη	τλθ	τμ	τμα	τμβ	
447/448	τμβ	τμγ	τμδ	τμε	τμς	τμζ	τμη	τμθ	τν	τνα	τνβ	τνγ	τνδ	τνε	τνς	τνζ	
462/463	τνζ	τνη	τνθ	τξ	τξα	τξβ	τξγ	τξδ	τξε	τξς	τξζ	τξη	τξθ	το	τοα	τοβ	
477/478	τοβ	τογ	τοδ	τοε	τος	τοζ	τοη	τοθ	τπ	τπα	τπβ	τπγ	τπδ	τπε	τπς	τπζ	
492/493	τπζ	τπη	τπθ	τ4	τ4α	τ4β	τ4γ	τ4δ	τ4ε	τ4ς	τ4ζ	τ4η	τ4θ	υ	υα	υβ	
507/508	υβ	υγ	υδ	υε	υς	υζ	υη	υθ	υι	υια	υιβ	υιγ	υιδ	υιε	υις	υιζ	
522/523	υιζ	υιη	υιθ	υκ	υκα	υκβ	υκγ	υκδ	υκε	υκς	υκζ	υκη	υκθ	υλ	υλα	υλβ	
537/538	υλβ	υλγ	υλδ	υλε	υλς	υλζ	υλη	υλθ	υμ	υμα	υμβ	υμγ	υμδ	υμε	υμς	υμζ	
552/553	υμζ	υμη	υμθ	υν	υνα	υνβ	υνγ	υνδ	υνε	υνς	υνζ	υνη	υνθ	υξ	υξα	υξβ	
567/568	υξβ	υξγ	υξδ	υξε	υξς	υξζ	υξη	υξθ	υο	υοα	υοβ	υογ	υοδ	υοε	υος	υοζ	
582/583	υοζ	υοη	υοθ	υπ	υπα	υπβ	υπγ	υπδ	υπε	υπς	υπζ	υπη	υπθ	υ4	υ4α	υ4β	
597/598	υ4β	υ4γ	υ4δ	υ4ε	υ4ς	υ4ζ	υ4η	υ4θ	φ	φα	φβ	φγ	φδ	φε	φς	φζ	
612/613	φζ	φη	φθ	φι	φια	φιβ	φιγ	φιδ	φιε	φις	φιζ	φιη	φιθ	φκ	φκα	φκβ	
627/628	φκβ	φκγ	φκδ	φκε	φκς	φκζ	φκη	φκθ	φλ	φλα	φλβ	φλγ	φλδ	φλε	φλς	φλζ	
642/643	φλζ	φλη	φλθ	φμ	φμα	φμβ	φμγ	φμδ	φμε	φμς	φμζ	φμη	φμθ	φν	φνα	φνβ	
657/658	φνβ	φνγ	φνδ	φνε	φνς	φνζ	φνη	φνθ	φξ	φξα	φξβ	φξγ	φξδ	φξε	φξς	φξζ	
672/673	φξζ	φξη	φξθ	φο	φοα	φοβ	φογ	φοδ	φοε	φος	φοζ	φοη	φοθ	φπ	φπα	φπβ	
687/688	φπβ	φπγ	φπδ	φπε	φπς	φπζ	φπη	φπθ	φ4	φ4α	φ4β	φ4γ	φ4δ	φ4ε	φ4ς	φ4ζ	
702/703	φ4ζ	φ4η	φ4θ	χ	χα	χβ	χγ	χδ	χε	χς	χζ	χη	χθ	χι	χια	χιβ	
717/718	χιβ	χιγ	χιδ	χιε	χις	χιζ	χιη	χιθ	χκ	χκα	χκβ	χκγ	χκδ	χκε	χκς	χκζ	
732/733	χκζ	χκη	χκθ	χλ	χλα	χλβ	χλγ	χλδ	χλε	χλς	χλζ	χλη	χλθ	χμ	χμα	χμβ	
747/748	χμβ	χμγ	χμδ	χμε	χμς	χμζ	χμη	χμθ	χν	χνα	χνβ	χνγ	χνδ	χνε	χνς	χνζ	
762/763	χνζ	χνη	χνθ	χξ	χξα	χξβ	χξγ	χξδ	χξε	χξς	χξζ	χξη	χξθ	χο	χοα	χοβ	
777/778	χοβ	χογ	χοδ	χοε	χος	χοζ	χοη	χοθ	χπ								

TABLE III

**Table of indictions according to the Christian Chronology**(after Brünnow and Domaszewski, *PA III*, p. 306, expanded until our last dated inscription)

Ind. 1 Sept.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1 Jan.	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327
	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342
	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357
	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372
	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387
	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402
	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417
	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432
	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447
	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462
	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477
	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492
	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507
	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522
	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537
	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552
	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567
	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582
	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597
	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612
	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627
	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642
	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657
	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672
	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687
	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702
	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717
	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732
	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747
	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762
	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777
	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787					

TABLE IV

**Eras of Palestine and Arabia** (in chronological order)

Seleucid Era	: autumn 312 (or 2/3 April 311) BC
Era of Tyre	: 19 October (or 18 November) 126 BC
Era of Ascalon	: 28 October (or 27 November) 104 BC
Era of Azotos	: the same as Ascalon or autumn 59 BC

*The "Pompeian" Eras*

Hippos	: autumn 64 BC
El-'Al and Khisfin	: autumn 64 BC
Tafas	: autumn 64 BC
Gadara	: autumn 64 BC
Philoteria	: autumn 64 BC
Nysa-Scythopolis	: October 64 BC
Pella	: autumn 63 BC
Khirbet el-Maqati'	: autumn 63 BC
Gerasa	: autumn 63 BC
Soûf and Hamameh	: autumn 63 BC
Philadelphia	: autumn 63 (or 64) BC
Dora	: autumn (?) 63 (?) BC
Gaza	: 28 October 61 BC
Gaba	: autumn (?) 61 or 60 BC
Raphia	: autumn (?) 60 BC
Apollonia	: autumn (?) 57 (?) BC

Era of Acco-Ptolemais	: autumn 49 BC
Era of Samaria-Sebaste	: autumn (?) 28 (?) BC
Era of Caesarea Philippi (Paneas)	: autumn (?) 2 (?) BC
Era of the Province of Arabia	: 22 March AD 106
Era of Eleutheropolis	: 22 March (?) AD 200
Era of Diocletian or Era of the Martyrs	: 29/30 August AD 284

*Other City Eras*

Shuhba (Philippopolis)	: 22 March AD 244
Sheikh Miskin	: undetermined
Shakka (Maximianopolis)	: 22 March AD 287 or 302
Burâk (Constantia)	: between AD 325 and 337 or between AD 337 and 361
Khirbet Ma'on (Nirim)	: 28 October (?) AD 331 or 346
The Hegira Era	: 15/16 July AD 622

TABLE V

**Eras of Palestine and Arabia (in alphabetical order)**

Acco-Ptolemais	: autumn 49 BC
Apollonia	: autumn (?) 57 (?) BC
Ascalon	: 28 October (or 27 November) 104 BC
Azotos	: the same as Ascalon or autumn 59 BC
Burâk (Constantia)	: between AD 325 and 337 or between AD 337 and 361
Caesarea Philippi (Paneas)	: autumn (?) 2 (?) BC
Dora	: autumn (?) 63 (?) BC
El-'Al	: autumn 64 BC
Eleutheropolis	: 22 March (?) AD 200
Era of Diocletian or Era of the Martyrs	: 29/30 August AD 284
Era of the Province of Arabia	: 22 March AD 106
Gaba	: autumn (?) 61 or 60 BC
Gadara	: autumn 64 BC
Gaza	: 28 October 61 BC
Gerasa	: autumn 63 BC
Hegira Era	: 15/16 July AD 622
Hippos	: autumn 64 BC
Khirbet Ma'on (Nirim)	: 28 October (?) AD 331 or 346
Khirbet el-Maqati'	: autumn 63 BC
Khisfin	: autumn 64 BC
Pella	: autumn 63 BC
Philadelphia	: autumn 63 (or 64) BC
Philoteria	: autumn 64 BC
Raphia	: autumn (?) 60 BC
Samaria-Sebaste	: autumn (?) 28 (?) BC
Scythopolis-Nysa	: October 64 BC
Seleucid Era	: autumn 312 (or 2/3 April 311) BC
Shakka (Maximianopolis)	: 22 March AD 287 or 302
Sheikh Miskin	: undetermined
Shuhba (Philippopolis)	: 22 March AD 244
Tafas	: autumn 64 BC
Tyre	: 19 October (or 18 November) 126 BC

TABLE VI

**Chronological list of emperors, kings and civilian consuls***A. Emperors and Kings*

Tiberius (14-37)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 24
Claudius I (41-54)	: R.Y. 48
Agrippa II (53-96?)	: R.Y. 50-55
Nero (54-68)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 30
Otho (69)	: P.E. 4
Vespasian (69-79)	: R.Y. 49
Domitian (81-96)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 36, 37
Nerva (96-98)	: R.Y. 56
Trajan (97-117)	: T.P. 1(=I. 9 = I.C. 11), T.P. 2 (=I. 10 = I.C. 12); R.Y. 57 (= R.Y. 59 = R.Y. 60), R.Y. 58
Hadrian (117-138)	: T.P. 3 (= I.C. 13), T.P. 4 (= I.C. 14), T.P. 5 (= I.C. 15), T.P. 6 (= I.C. 16); R.Y. 61-66
Antoninus Pius (138-161)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 48, 52; R.Y. 67-70; E.P.A. 5 (= R.Y. 71); C.C. 29 (= R.Y. 72); R.Y. 73, 74 (?), 76(?)
Marcus Aurelius (161-180)	: P.E. (Ger. E.) 52, 58; C.C. 29, 34; R.Y. 74 (?), 76 (?), 77-85
Lucius Verus (161-169)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 58; C.C. 34
Commodus (176-192)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 60; R.Y. 86-91
Septimius Severus (193-211)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 63; R.Y. 92, 93
Caracalla (198-217)	: T.E. 3; P.E. (Ger.E.) 63; E.P.A. 20; I.C. 18; C.C. 38; R.Y. 93
Geta (209-212)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 63; R.Y. 93
Severus Alexander (222-235)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 65; T.P. 8 (= I.C. 19); R.Y. 94-99
Maximinus (235-238)	: I.C. 20
Gordian III (238-244)	: E.P.A. 27, 28; C.C. 40
Philip I (244-249)	: C.E. 1; I.C. 21
Philip II (244-249)	: C.E. 1; I.C. 21
Decius (249)	: R.Y. 100
Gallienus (253-268)	: E.P.A. 45
Aurelian (270-275)	: E.P.A. 49
Probus (276-282)	: R.Y. 101
Diocletian (284-305)	: I.C. 22
Maximian (286-305)	: I.C. 22
Constantine I (307-337)	: I.C. 23
Constantine II (337-340)	: I.C. 23
Constans (337-350)	: E.P.A. 98
Constantius II (337-361)	: E.P.A. 98; I.C. 24-26

Julian (360-363)	: A.E. 1; E.P.A. 123; I.C. 26
Valentinianus I (364-375)	: I.C. 27
Valens (364-378)	: I.C. 27
Anastasius I (491-518)	: R.Y. 102
Justinian I (527-565)	: E.P.A. 269, 276-279; R.Y. 103, 104
Justin II (565-578)	: R.Y. 105, 106
Mauricius (582-602)	: I.C. 28; R.Y. 107

### *B. Civilian Consuls*

#### 2nd century

- Lucius Attidius Cornelianus, consul designatus: AD 150 [C.C. 29 (= R.Y. 72), P.E. 51 (= C.C. 30), P.E. 52(= C.C. 31)]
- C. Allius Fuscianus, consul (suffectus) designatus: AD 161(?) [C.C. 32]  
C. Allius Fuscianus, consul suffectus: AD 162 (?) [C.C. 33]
- P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus, consul designatus: AD 166 (?) [C.C. 34, 35]
- Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus, consul suffectus: AD 167 (?) [C.C. 36]

#### 3rd century

- Q. Aiadius Modestus Crescentianus, consul designatus: AD 205-207 (?) [C.C. 37, 38]
- Cn. Claudius Severus and L. Ti. Claudius Aurelius Quintianus, ordinary consuls: AD 235 [C.C. 39]
- (C?) Fulvius Pius and Pontius Proculus Pontianus, ordinary consuls: AD 238 [C.C. 40]

#### 4th century

- T. Flavius Postumius Titianus II and Popilius Virius Nepotianus, ordinary consuls: AD 301 [C.C. 41]
- Iulius Annius Bassus and Flavius Ablabius, ordinary consuls: AD 331 [C.C. 42]
- Flavius Anicius Sergius and Flavius Nigrinianus, ordinary consuls: AD 350 [C.C. 43]

#### 5th century

- Flavius Anatolius, ordinary consul: AD 440 [C.C. 44, 45]

#### 6th century

- Lampadius and Orestes, ordinary consuls: AD 530 [C.C. 46]
- Flavius (Belisarius), ordinary consul: AD 535 [C.C. 47]

Number of inscriptions appearing in each chronological system according to centuries

[illegible]



## INDICES

### 1. Era designations

#### *Seleucid era*

- S.E. 4 : κατὰ Δαμασκοῦ ἔτους ...  
 S.E. 5 : ἡτοὺς Δαμασκοῦ ...

#### *Pompeian eras*

- P.E. (Gad.E.) 10 : ἔτους τῆς κολων(ίας) ..., κατ' Ἀραβα(ς) ἔτους ...  
 P.E. (G.E.) 115 : [τοῦ] κατὰ Γαζαί[ους] ... ἔτους  
 P.E. (G.E.) 126 : κατὰ δὲ Γαζ(αίους) τοῦ ... ἔτους  
 P.E. (G.E.) 129 : [ – – κατ]ὰ Γαζ(αίους) ...  
 P.E. (G.E.) 131 : ἐν τῷ ... ἔτει κατὰ [Γαζαίους]  
 P.E. (G.E.) 132 : τοῦ κατὰ Γαζ(αίους) ...

#### *Era of provincia Arabia*

#### 2nd century

- E.P.A. 1 : ἔτους ... ἐπαρχείας  
 E.P.A. 5 : ἔτους .. καταστάσεως τῆς ἐπαρχίας

#### 3rd century

- E.P.A. 28 : [ – – ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχ]είας ...  
 E.P.A. 38 : ἔτη .. Βοσ(τηρηνῶν) or Βόσ(τηρης) or Βόσ(τρων)

#### 4th century

- E.P.A. 76 : ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχίου  
 E.P.A. 82 : ἔτους [τῆς ἐπ(αρχίας)] ..  
 E.P.A. 83 : ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχείας  
 E.P.A. 128 : ἔτους .. τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας)  
 E.P.A. 155 : ἐν ἔτι ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας  
 E.P.A. 156 : ἐν ἔ<τ>ι ... τῆς ἡπαρ(χείας)  
 E.P.A. 157 : ἡτοὺς ... ἡπαρχίας  
 E.P.A. 158 : ἔτους ... τῆς Βοσ[τ]ρηνῶν  
 E.P.A. 160 : ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχί(ο)υ

#### 5th century

- E.P.A. 169 : ἔτο<υ>ς ... ἐπαρχ[ίας]  
 E.P.A. 199 : ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρ(χίας)  
 E.P.A. 227 : τοῦ ἔτους ... ἐπ[α]ρχ(ίας)  
 E.P.A. 228 : <τοῦ ἔτους ...> τῆς ἐπαρχίας  
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- E.P.A. 254 : ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρ(χίας)

E.P.A. 255	: ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας)
E.P.A. 265	: ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχί(ας)
E.P.A. 273	: κατὰ Βόστρα ἔτους ...
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E.P.A. 284	: ἔτους τῆς πόλεως ...
E.P.A. 330	: ἔτ <ο> υς ... τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας)
E.P.A. 335	: ἐν ἔτη ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας
E.P.A. 349	: τοῦ .. ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχείας
E.P.A. 361	: ἐν ἔτι ... τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας)
E.P.A. 368	: ἔτους κατὰ Ἐλούσ(ην) ...
E.P.A. 369	: ἔτι ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας
E.P.A. 387	: ἐν ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας) Ἀραβ(ίας) ...
E.P.A. 411	: ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας

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E.P.A. 450	: τοῦ ἔτου[ς] τῆς πόλεως] ..
E.P.A. 455	: (ἐ)τους ... τῆς ἐπαρχίας
E.P.A. 480	: τοῦ ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας)
E.P.A. 481	: το <ῶ> ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπαρχ(ίας)
E.P.A. 483	: τοῦ ἔτους ... τῆς ἐπ(α)ρχ(ίας)

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E.P.A. 526	: τοῦ ἔτους ἡπαρχίας Ἀραβίας ..
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*Era of Eleutheropolis*

E.E. 2	: κατὰ Ἐλευθερωπολίτας ...
E.E. 4	: ἔτους τῆς Ἐλευθεροπολιτόν ...
E.E. 9	: ἔτους κατὰ Ἐλευθεροπολίτας) ...
E.E. 11	: A. κατὰ Ἐλευθερω(πο)λίτας) ἔτοις .. B. (κατ' (Ἐλευθερο)πολίτας) ἔτ(ους) ..
E.E. 12	: ἔτους κατὰ Ἐλευθερωπολίτας ..
E.E. 14	: ἔτ(ους) κατὰ Ἐλευθεροπολίτας) ...

*Era of Diocletian or of the Martyrs*

E.D. 4	: Διωκλιτιανοῦ ...
E.D. 5	: τῶν μαρτύρων ..

*Other City Eras*

C.E. 1	: ἔτους . τῆς πόλεως
C.E. 2	: ἔτους . τῆς πόλεως
C.E. 3	: ἔτους τῆς πόλ(εως) ..
C.E. 5	: ἔτ]ους τῆς πόλεως) ..
C.E. 6	: ἔτ(ους) τ(ῆς) π(όλεως) .
C.E. 7	: ἔτους . τῆς πόλ(εως) ..
C.E. 8	: ἔτους . τῆς πόλεως
C.E. 10	: ἔτ(ους) τῆς πόλ(εως) ...
C.E. 11	: ἔτ(ους) τῆς πόλ(εως) ..
C.E. 12	: τοῦ ... ἔτ[(ους) τῆς πόλ(εως)]

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βερίου Κ(λ)αυδίου ... Γερμανικοῦ ... R.Y. 48
- Ἀγρίππας : Έτους ιη' βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα κυρίου ... R.Y.  
50; ... βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Ἀγρίππα κυρίῳ ... L κ'  
R.Y. 51; A. ... L ακ' τοῦ ζι' --- B. Έτους ηκ'  
βασιλέως μεγάλου Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Ἀγρίπ-  
πα κυρίου ... R.Y. 52; ... έτους δευτέρου εἰ[-  
κοστοῦ βασιλέως ... R.Y. 53; Έτους λζ' τοῦ  
καὶ λβ' βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα κυρ[ίου] ... R.Y.  
55
- Νέρων : .. [... Νέρωνος] Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ... P.E.  
(Ger.E.) 30
- ᾽Οθων : ... Μάρκου ᾽Οθωνος ... P.E. 4  
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- Δομετιανός : ... Αὐτοκράτορι ... [[ .. Δομετιανῶ . ]] ... Γερ-  
μανικῶ, ἀρχιερί μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου-  
σίας, πατρὶ πατρίδος ... P.E. (Ger.E.) 36, 37
- Νέρουας : Έτους α' ... αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα ... R.Y. 56  
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L θ' αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τραϊανοῦ ... C.  
<L> ιβ' αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τραϊανοῦ ...  
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[Αὐτοκράτορι ...] ... Νέρουα Τρ[αϊανῶ  
Ἀρίστῳ ... Γερμανικῶ Δακικῶ, ἀρχιερεῖ με-  
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τορι ... [...Νέρ]ουα Τραϊανῶ ἀρίστῳ ... Γερ-  
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ρος) Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ... έτους η' ... R.Y.  
62; ... έτ(ους) δεκάτου Ἀδριανοῦ ... R.Y. 63; ...  
Αὐτοκράτορος ... Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ... ἀρ-  
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τοκράτορα ... Τραῖ[αν]ὸν Ἀδριανόν, ... ἀρχιε-  
ρέα μέγιστ[ο]ν, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας) τὸ δι',  
ὑπατον τὸ γ', πατέρα πατρίδος T.P. 4-6; Έτους  
ιε' Ἀδρια[νοῦ ...] ... R.Y. 64; ... έτους ιζ'  
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- Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς : Έτους γ' Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ ... R.Y. 67;  
Έτους γ' Ἀντωνί(ν)ου ... R.Y. 68; [Έ]τους ε'  
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Μάρκος Αυρήλιος

Λούκιος Ουήρος

Κόμμοδος

κράτ[ορος] ... Τ(ίτου) Αιλίου [Ἀ]δριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐ[σ]εβοῦς ... P.E. (Ger.E.) 48; ... ἔτους δεκάτου Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος ... R.Y. 70; ... Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος ἔτους ι[---] E.P.A. 5; ... Αὐτοκράτο[ρος] ... Τ(ίτου) Αιλίου Ἀδρ[ι]ανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου ... Εὐσεβ(οῦς), πα(τρὸς) πατρίδος καὶ Αὐρηλίου Κα[ί]σαρος [υ]ιοῦ αὐτοῦ ... P.E. (Ger.E.) 52; [.. Αὐτοκράτορος ... Τίτου Αιλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου ... Εὐσεβοῦς, πατρὸς πατρίδος καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐ]ήρου Καίσαρος, υἱοῦ α[ὐ]τοῦ] ... C.C. 29; ... ἔτους ιδ' Ἀντωνεῖνου Κ(αίσαρος) R.Y. 73; [Ἔτους] ιε' τοῦ ... Ἀντο[νεῖνου] ... R.Y. 74; ... Καίσαρος Τίτου Αιλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ... ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος ... R.Y. 75; [... Αὐτοκ]ράτορος Ἀντ[ωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ ...] ... R.Y. 76

: Cf. Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς P.E. (Ger.E.) 52, C.C. 29, R.Y. 76; [... Ἀ]ντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου [αὐτοκρατ]όρων ... P.E. (Ger.E.) 58 ... [Αὐτοκρ]ατό[ρων Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Ἀρμενιακοῦ Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου] καὶ Λου[κίου Οὐήρου Ἀρμενιακοῦ] Παρ[θικοῦ] μ[εγίστου] ... C.C. 34; Ἔτους θ' .... αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου ... Ἀρμενιακοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μηδικοῦ μεγίστου ... R.Y. 77; Ἔτους θ' αὐτοκρ(άτορος) Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνο(υ) ... R.Y. 78; [... αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου ...] ... Ἀρμ(ενιακοῦ) Μηδ(ικοῦ) Παρθ(ικοῦ) Μεγ(ίστου) ... ἔτους ἐνάτου ... R.Y. 79; ... [αὐτο]κρ(άτορος) ... Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου ... ἔτ(ους) ι' ... R.Y. 80; Ἔτους ι' Αὐρηλίου Ἀν[τωνεῖνου] ... R.Y. 81; ... αὐτοκράτορος ... Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου ... ἔτους ἐνδεκάτου ... R.Y. 82; Ἔτους ιε' Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντονίνου ... R.Y. 83; Cf. Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς R.Y. 74; [Ἔτους] ιη' Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου ... R.Y. 84; ... Μάρ(κου) Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου ...] ... ἔτου(ς) ὀκτ[ώ] (κ)α(ί) [δ]ε[κά]του ... R.Y. 85

: Cf. Μάρκος Αυρήλιος P.E. (Ger.E.) 58, C.C. 34

: Ἔτους ζ' Κομόδου ... R.Y. 86; Ἔτους η' ... Μ(άρκου) [[Κομμόδου]] Ἀντωνίνου ... R.Y. 87; ... Αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Κομόδου Ἀντωνίνου ... P.E. (Ger.E.) 60; ... Κα[ί]σαρος Κομόδου ... ἔτους ι' R.Y. 88;

- [Ἔ]τους ιβ' αὐτοκ[ράτορος] ... Κομμ[όδου Ἀ]ντωνεῖν[ου ...] ... R.Y. 89; ... Αὐτοκράτο-  
ρος [... Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου] [Κομμόδου] Ἀντω-  
νίν[ου] Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ  
Βρεταν[νικοῦ] Εὐτυχοῦς, π(ατρὸς) [π(ατρί-  
δος)], δημαρχικῆς [ἐξουσίας τὸ ιε'], ὑπάτου [τὸ  
ς'], κρατήσεως ἔτο[υς] πεντε[και]δεκάτου ...  
R.Y. 90; ... αὐτοκράτ(ορος) Λουκί[[ου Αὐρη-  
λίου Κομμόδου]] Σεβ(αστοῦ) Εὐσεβ(οῦς) Εὐ-  
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καὶ Ἰου(λίας) Δό <μ> ν[ης] Σεβ(αστή), ἔτους  
ιζ' ... R.Y. 93
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- Γέτας : Cf. Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος P.E. (Ger.E.) 63,  
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Αὐτοκράτ]ορα Καίσαρα Μ(ἄρκου) [Αὐρή-  
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ιβ' ... Καίσαρος Ἀλεξάνδρου ... R.Y. 99; [...  
Μ(ἄρκω) Αὐρ(ηλίω)] Σεουήρῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ...  
δημ(αρχικῆς) ἐξουσι(ας) τὸ ιβ', ὑπατος τὸ γ',  
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μῖνου καὶ Γ(αῖου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Μαξίμου τοῦ]  
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- Δέκιος : ... Ἐτ(ους) β' ... Τραϊανοῦ [[Δεκίου]] ... R.Y. 100
- Γαλληνός : ... αὐτοκράτορ(ος) Γαλληνοῦ ... E.P.A. 43, 45  
 Αὐρηλιανός : ... αὐτοκράτορος [Αὐρηλιανοῦ ...] ... E.P.A. 49
- Πρόβος : ... Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Πρόβου ... ἔτ(ους) ζ' ... R.Y. 101
- Διοκλητιανός : Ὑπατία Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ η' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ζ' ... I.C. 22
- Μαξιμιανός : Cf. Διοκλητιανός  
 Κωνσταντῖνος I : Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων ... Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγ(ούστου) τὸ ς' καὶ Κ[λ](αυδίου) Κωνσταντίνου ... Καίσαρος ... I.C. 23
- Κωνσταντῖνος II : Cf. Κωνσταντῖνος I  
 Κώνστας : ... Κωνσταντίου καὶ Κώνσταντος Αὐγούστων ... E.P.A. 98
- Κωνσταντῖος II : Cf. Κώνστας; Ὑπατία Κωνσταντίου τὸ ε' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τὸ α' ... I.C. 24; ... ἐν ὑπατεία τῶν ... Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ ἑβδομον καὶ Κωνσταντίου ... Καίσαρος τὸ τρίτον I.C. 25; ... ἐπὶ ὑπατία(ς) Κ[ων]σταν[τίου] Αὐγ[ού]στ[ου] [τὸ] η' [καὶ] Ἰου[λι]αν[ί]ου Κέσαρ(ος) τὸ α' I.C. 26
- Ἰουλιανός : Cf. Κωνσταντῖος II; Ἐπὶ κρατήσεως Φλ(αυίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Ἰουλιανοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ... E.P.A. 123; ... Ἰουλι[ανέ] ... A.E. 1
- Οὐαλεντινιανός I : Ὑπατεία + τῶν δεσποτῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος ... I.C. 27
- Οὐάλης : Cf. Οὐαλεντινιανός I  
 Ἀναστάσιος : ... ἐν ἔτ(ε)ι κε' ... Α[να]στασίου ...] ... R.Y. 102
- Ἰουστινιανός : ... Ἰουσ[τινι]ανοῦ ... E.P.A. 269; ... βασιλεύ[οντος] Ἰουστινιανοῦ τῷ ια' ἔτει ... R.Y. 103; ... Ἰουστινιανοῦ E.P.A. 276; ... Φλ(αυίου) Ἰουστινιανοῦ ... E.P.A. 277; ... Ἰουστινιανοῦ Αὐγούστου ... E.P.A. 278; ... [Φλ(αυίου) Ἰουστινιανοῦ ... E.P.A. 279; (... βασι-) <λ> ἕως Ἰουστινια(νοῦ) ἔτους λ' ... R.Y. 104
- Ἰουστῖνος II : ... βασιλείας τοῦ ... Φλα(ουίου) Ἰουστίνου ἔτους τὸ β' R.Y. 105; Ἐπὶ τῆς ... βασιλείας ... Φλ(αυίου) Ἰουστίνου ... R.Y. 106

Μαυρίκιος

: ... βασιλέως Μαυρικίου ὑπατίας πρώτης +  
I.C. 28; ... βασιλείας Μαυρικίου ...] ... ἔτους  
ια' R.Y. 107

### 3. Consuls, consulars, provincial governors

- Ἀβλάβιος : Ὑπατία Βάσσου καὶ Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπρο-  
τάτων ... C.C. 42
- Ἀδουέντος : Cf. Ἀντίστιος Ἀδουέντος
- Ἀδριανός : Cf. Index 2
- Αἰάκιος Μόδεστος : ... ἐπὶ Αἰακίου Μοδέστου ὑπάτ(ου) ἀναδ(ε-  
δειγμένου) ... C.C. 37, 38
- Αἰλιανός : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Αἰλιανός
- Αἰμιλιανός : Cf. Ἀσέλλιος Αἰμιλιανός
- Αἰμίλιος Κᾶρος : ... ἐ[πι] Αἰμιλίου Κάρου, πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σε-  
βασ[τοῦ ἀντ]ιστ[ρατή]γου P.E. (Ger.E.) 48
- Αἰμιλλιανός : Cf. Αἰμίλλιος Αἰμιλλιανός
- Αἰμίλλιος Αἰμιλλιανός : ... Αἰμιλλίου Αἰμιλλιανοῦ, τοῦ[δι]α[ση]μοτά-  
του ἡμῶ[ν ἡγεμόνος] ... E.P.A. 52
- Ἀλέξανδρος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Ἀρκάδιος Ἀλέξανδρος
- Γ(άιος) Ἀλλιος Φουσκιανός : [Γ.] Ἀλλιον Φ[ουσκιανόν] πρεσβ(ευτήν) Σε-  
β(αστοῦ) οἱ Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρ(άτηγον)],  
ὑπατο[ν ἀναδ(εδειγμένον) ..] ... C.C. 32;  
Γ(άιον) Ἀ[λλ]ιον Φουσκιανόν ὑπατον ... C.C.  
33
- Ἀμμιανός : Cf. Στατίλιος Ἀμμιανός
- Ἀναστάσιος : Cf. Index 2
- Ἀναστάσιος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Ἀναστάσιος
- Ἀνατόλιος : ... τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου στρατηλάτου ὑπά-  
του Ἀνατολίου ... C.C. 44; ... Φλ(αούιου) Ἀνα-  
τολίου, τοῦ μεγαλοπ(ρεπεστάτου) στρατηλά-  
του καὶ ὑπάτου ... C.C. 45
- Ἀντίπατρος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Πελάγιος Ἀντίπατρος
- Κ(οίντος) Ἀντίστιος Ἀδουέντος : ... Κ(οίντου) Ἀντιστίου Ἀδουέντου ὑπάτου  
... C.C. 36
- Ἀουῖδιος Κάσσιος : ... ἐπὶ Ἀουῖδίου Κασσίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου  
ὑπατικοῦ ... R.Y. 77, 79, 82; ... Αὐιδίου Κα-  
σίου(υ) ὑπα(τικοῦ) ... R.Y. 78; ... [[ἐπὶ Ἀουῖ-  
δίου Κασσίου]] πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ)  
[[ἀντιστρατήγου -- ]] R.Y. 80
- Ἀρκάδιος Ἀλέξανδρος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Ἀρκάδιος Ἀλέξανδρος
- Ἀρχέλαος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Ἀρχέλαος
- Ἀσέλλιος Αἰμιλιανός : ... ἐπὶ Ἀσελλίου Αἰμιλιαν[οῦ] ὑ[π]ατικοῦ ...  
R.Y. 88
- Λ(ούκιος) Ἀττίδιος Κορνηλιανός : ... ἐπὶ Λ(ουκίου) Ἀττιδίου Κορνηλιανοῦ  
πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγ(ου),  
ὑπάτου ἀναδεδειγμένου P.E. (Ger.E.) 51, 52;  
Rest. C.C. 29

- Αὐρήλιος Πέτρος : ... Αὐρ(ηλίου) Πέτρου, τοῦ δια[σημοτάτου ἡμῶν] ἡγεμ(όνος) ... E.P.A. 50  
 Ἀφρικανός : ... ὑπατείας [[Μαξιμίνου]], Ἀφρικανοῦ ... I.C. 20
- Βαλβίνος : ... ὑπ(α)[τ]ίας Σεουήρου τὸ δ' καὶ [Β]αλβίνου β' I.C. 18  
 Βάσσοι : Cf. Ἀβλάβιος  
 Βόνος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Βόνος
- Γαλλωνιανός : ... ]ίου Γαλλωνιανοῦ, το[ῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγ]εμόνος ... E.P.A. 39  
 Γεμίνιος Μαρκιανός : ... ἐπ[ι Γ]ε[μινίου Μαρκιανοῦ], πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρ(ατήγου) ... P.E. (Ger.E.) 58; ... ἐπ[ι Γεμιν]ίου Μ[αρκιανοῦ] πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρατήγου, ὑπάτου ἀναδεδειγμένου ...] C.C. 34, 35
- Δέξτρος : Cf. Δομίτιος Δέξτρος  
 Δήμαρχος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Δήμαρχος  
 Διοκλητιανός : Cf. Index 2  
 Δομίτιος Δέξτρος : ... ἐπὶ Δομιτίου Δέξτρου ὑπατικοῦ ... R.Y. 87  
 Μ(ἄρκος) Δομίτιος Οὐαλεριανός : ... ἐπὶ Δομιτίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ὑπατικοῦ ... E.P.A. 27; ... ἐπὶ Μάρκ(ου) [Δομιτίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ, π]ρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγου .... E.P.A. 28
- Δῶρος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Δῶρος
- Ἡσύχιος : Ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμη(τος) Ἡσυχίου ἡγεμόνος κα[ὶ] σχο(λαστικοῦ) ... E.P.A. 226
- Ἰουλιανός : Cf. Index 2  
 Ἰουλιανός : Cf. Πομπώνιος Ἰουλιανός  
 Ἰούλιος Σατορνείος : ... ὑπατεύοντος Ἰουλίου Σατορνείνου ... R.Y. 96  
 Ἰούνιος Ὀλύμπος : ... Ἰουνίου Ὀλύμπου τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος ... E.P.A. 43  
 Ἰουστινιανός : Cf. Index 2  
 Ἰωάννης Στέφανος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Ἰωάννης Στέφανος
- Καπιτωλῖνος : Cf. Κλ(αύδιος) Καπιτωλῖνος  
 Κᾶρος : Cf. Αἰμίλιος Κᾶρος



Κάσσιος	: Cf. Ἀουῖδιος Κάσσιος
Λ(ούκιος) Κειώνιος Κόμμοδος	: ... [ἐπὶ Λ(ουκίου) Κ]ειωνίου Κομμ[όδ]ου, πρε[σβευτοῦ Σεβαστ]οῦ ἀντ[ιστρατήγου] P.E. (Ger.E.) 33
Κλ(αῦδιος) Καπιτωλῖνος	: ... Κλ(αυδίου) Καπιτωλίν(ου) πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντισ(τρατήγου) ... S.E. 2
Κλαῦδιος Κυῖντιανός	: Ὑπατείας Κλαυδ[ίου] Σεουήρου καὶ Κλα[υ]-δίου Κυῖντιανοῦ ... C.C. 39
Γάιος Κλαῦδιος Σεουήρος	: ... ἐπὶ Γαῖου Κλ[αυδίου] Σεουήρου πρεσβευ- [τ]οῦ ἀντιστρατήγου T.P. 1; ... ἐπὶ Κ]λαυδίου Σεουήρου [ύ]πατικοῦ, πρεσβ[ευτοῦ Σ]εβασ[τοῦ ἀντ]ιστρατήγου T.P. 2
Κλαῦδιος Σεουήρος	: Cf. Κλαῦδιος Κυῖντιανός
Κόμμοδος	: Cf. Index 2
Κόμμοδος	: Cf. Λ(ούκιος) Κειώνιος Κόμμοδος
Κορνηλιανός	: Cf. Λ(ούκιος) Ἀττίδιος Κορνηλιανός
Κυῖντιανός	: Cf. Κλαῦδιος Κυῖντιανός
Κωνσταντῖνος I	: Cf. Index 2
Κωνσταντῖνος II	: Cf. Index 2
Κωνστάντιος II	: Cf. Index 2
Λαμπάδιος	: Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Λαμπάδιος
Λάππιος Μάξιμος	: ... Λαππίου Μαξίμου, πρεσβευτοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου P.E. (Ger.E.) 36
Μαξιμιανός	: Cf. Index 2
Μαξιμῖνος	: Cf. Index 2
Μαξιμῖνος	: ... Μαξιμίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου δουκὸς I.C. 27
Μάξιμος	: Cf. Λάππιος Μάξιμος
Μαρκιανός	: Cf. Γεμίνιος Μαρκιανός
Μαυρίκιος	: Cf. Index 2
Μόδεστος	: Cf. Αἰάκιος Μόδεστος
Νεποτιανός	: Cf. Οὐιργίνιος Νεποτιανός
Νιγρινιανός	: Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Νιγρινιανός
Νύσιος Σέργιος	: Cf. Φλα[ούιος] Νύσιος Σέργιος
Ὀλυμπος	: Cf. Ἰούνιος Ὀλυμπος
Ὀρέστης	: Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Λαμπάδιος
Οὐαλεντινιανός I	: Cf. Index 2
Οὐαλεριανός	: Cf. Δομίτιος Οὐαλεριανός
Οὐάλης	: Cf. Index 2
Οὐιργίνιος Νεποτιανός	: Ὑπατ[ι] T. [Πο]υστουμ[ί]ο[υ] Τιτιανοῦ] κὲ Οὐιρ[γίν]ου Νεποτια[νοῦ] ... C.C. 41

- Παῦλος : Ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) καὶ ἐνδοξ(ο-  
 τάτου) ἡ]μῶν δουκὸς καὶ ἄρχ(οντος) Παύλ-  
 {λ}[ου] ... P.E. (Ger.E.) 81  
 Παῦλος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Παῦλος  
 Πελάγιος Ἀντίπατρος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Πελάγιος Ἀντίπατρος  
 Πέτρος : Cf. Αὐρήλιος Πέτρος  
 Πῖος : ... ὑπατεία Πίου καὶ Ποντιανοῦ ... C.C. 40  
 Πομπώνιος Ἰουλιανός : ... ἐπὶ Πομπωνίου Ἰουλιανοῦ πρεσβ(ευτοῦ)  
 Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρ(ατήγου) ... I.C. 20  
 Ποντιανός : Cf. Πῖος  
 Πουστούμιος Τιτιανός : Cf. Οὐιργίνιος Νεποτιανός
- Σατορνείνος : Cf. Ἰούλιος Σατορνείνος  
 Σεουῆρος : Cf. Βαλβῖνος  
 Σεουῆρος : Cf. Γάιος Κλαύδιος Σεουῆρος  
 Σεουῆρος Ἀλέξανδρος : Cf. Index 2  
 Σέργειος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Νιγρινιανός  
 Σέργιος : Cf. Φλ[αούιος] Νύσιος Σέργιος  
 Σιλουϊνιανός : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Σιλουϊνιανός  
 Σιμπλίκιος : Cf. Φλ(αούιος) Σιμπλίκιος  
 Στατίλιος Ἀμμιανός : ... Στατιλίου Ἀμμιανοῦ τοῦ κρατίστου διέπον-  
 τος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ... E.P.A. 45  
 Στέφανος : Cf. Ἰωάννης Στέφανος
- Τιτιανός : Cf. Πουστούμιος Τιτιανός  
 Τραιανός : Cf. Index 2
- Φλ(αούιος) Αἰλιανός : ... τοῦ δι(ασημοτάτου) ἡμῶν ἡ(γεμόνος)  
 Φλ(αούιου) Αἰλιανοῦ ... E.P.A. 47; ...  
 Φλ(αούιου) Αἰλιανοῦ τοῦ δι(ασημοτάτου) ἡ-  
 (μῶν) [ἡ(γεμόνος)] ... E.P.A. 49  
 Φλ(αούιος) Ἀναστάσιος : Ἐπὶ Φλ(αούιου) Ἀναστασίου ὑπερφνεστ(ά-  
 του) κ(αὶ) πανευφ(ήμου) ἀπ < ὁ > ὑπάτων κ(αὶ)  
 δοῦξ ... E.P.A. 262; [... Ἐπὶ Φλ(αούιου) Ἀνα-  
 σ]τασίου τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κ(αὶ) ἐν-  
 δοξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος), δουκὸς] κ(αὶ) ἄρ-  
 χ(οντος) τὸ β' ... P.E. (Ger.E.) 78, 80  
 Φλ(αούιος) Ἀρκάδιος Ἀλέξανδρος : ... ἐπὶ Φλ(αούιου) Ἀρκαδίου Ἀλεξάνδρου,  
 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου σχο(λαστικοῦ) καὶ ἡγεμό-  
 νος ... E.P.A. 222  
 Φλ(αούιος) Ἀρχέλαος : ... [Φ]λ(αούιου) Ἀρχελαίου, τοῦ λαμπρ[ο]τά-  
 του κόμιτος καὶ ἡγεμόνος ... E.P.A. 105  
 Φλ(αούιος) (Βελισάριος ?) : ... ὑπατί(α) Φλ(αούιου) τοῦ ἐνδ[οξ(οτάτου)] ...  
 C.C. 47  
 Φλ(αούιος) Βόνος : Ἐπὶ Φλ(αούιου) Βόνου, τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου)  
 κόμ(ητος) καὶ δουκὸς ... E.P.A. 153

Φλ(αούιος) Δήμαρχος	: 'Επί Φλ(αούιου) Δημάρχου τοῦ μεγαλο- πρεπεστάτου καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτου ἄρχοντος ... E.P.A. 196
Φλ(αούιος) Δῶρος	: 'Επί Φλ(αούιου) Δώρου, τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επε- στάτου) κόμιτ(ος) καὶ ἄρχοντος ... E.P.A. 253
Φλ(αούιος) Ἰωάννης Στέφ(ανος)	: ... ἐπὶ Φλ(αούιου) Ἰωάννου Στεφ(άνου) βικα- ρίου ... E.P.A. 238
Φλ(αούιος) Λαμπάδιος	: ... ἐν ὑπατίᾳ Φλ(αούιων) Λαμπαδίου κ(αὶ) Ὁρέστου τῶν λαμπρ(ο)τ(άτων) ... C.C. 46
Φλ(αούιος) Νιγρινιανός	: ... ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Φλ(αούιου) Σεργείου καὶ Φλ(αούιου) Νιγρινιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων ... C.C. 43
Φλα[ούιος] Νύσιος Σέργιος	: ... ἐπὶ Φλα[ουίου] Νυσίου Σεργίου Σκυθοπ[ο- λίτου], τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμ[ητος] καὶ ὑπατικοῦ ... P.E. (Sc.E.) 18
Φλ(αούιος) Παῦλος	: + 'Επί Φλ(αούιου) Παύλου, ἐνδοξ[ο(τάτου)] δουκὸς ... E.P.A. 365
Φλ(αούιος) Πελάγιος Ἀντίπατρος	: 'Επί Φλ(αούιου) Πελαγίου) Ἀντιπάτρου δου- κὸς ... E.P.A. 172; 'Επί Φλ(αούιου) Πελαγίου 'Αντιπάτρου, τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος) καὶ δουκὸς ... E.P.A. 173
Φλ(αούιος) Σιλουϊνιανός	: ... Σιλουϊνιανοῦ, τοῦ δ(ια)ση(μοτάτου) δουκὸς ... E.P.A. 104; ... Φλ(αούιου) Σαλουϊνιανοῦ, τοῦ γενεωτάτου δουκὸς ... E.P.A. 110
Φλ(αούιος) Σιμπλίκιος	: ... ἐπὶ Φλ(αούιου) Σιμπλικίου, τοῦ λαμπρ(οτά- του) κόμ[ητος] ... C.C. 45
Φουσκιανός	: Cf. Γ(άιος) Ἀλλιος Φουσκιανός
...ητιανός	: ... [ἐπὶ ...]ητιανοῦ [πρεσβ(ευτοῦ)] Σεβ(αστῶν) [άν]τ<ι> [στρ(ατήγου)] --- R.Y. 93

#### 4. Inscriptions with more than one dating systems

T.P. 3	: Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοκράτορος· Καίσαρος θεοῦ· Τραϊανοῦ Παρ- θικοῦ· υἱοῦ· θεοῦ Νέρουα· υἱωνοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερέος μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιδ', ὑπάτου τὸ γ', ... Ἔτους β' (tribunician power + imperial consulship + era of Gerasa)
R.Y. 90	: Ὑ[πὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου διαμονῆς Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου [Κομμόδου] Ἀντωνίνου] Σεβα- στοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ Βρεταν[νικοῦ] Εὐτυχούς, π(ατρός) [π(ατρίδος)], δημαρχικῆς [ἐξουσίας τὸ ιε'], ὑπάτου [τὸς], κρατή- σεος ἔτο[υς] πεντε[και]δεκάτου ... ἔτους [δευτέρου πεντηκοστοῦ] διακοσιοστοῦ, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ [...] (tribunician power + imperial consulship + regnal year + era of Gerasa)
C.C. 43	: ... ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Φλα(ούιου) Σεργείου καὶ Φλ(αούιου) Νιγρινιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, ἔτους σμε' τῆς ἡπαρχείας (civilian consulship + era of provincia Arabia)
C.C. 44	: Ἐκ κελεύσεως τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου στρατη-

- λάτου ὑπάτου Ἀνατολίου ... ἐν ἔτι τλε' (civilian consulship + era of provincia Arabia)
- C.C. 46 : ... ἐν ὑπατίᾳ Φλ(αουῶν) Λαμπαδίου κ(αὶ) Ὁρέστου τῶν λαμπρ(ο)-  
τ(άτων), μη(νὶ) Ἀγούστῳ, χρόνων θ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), τοῦ ἔτους υκε'  
τῆς ἐπαρχίας (civilian consulship + indiction + era of provincia Arabia)
- R.Y. 103 : ... βασιλεύ[οντος] Ἰουστινιανοῦ τῷ ια' ἔτει, ἔ(τους) [υ]λγ' (regnal year + era of provincia Arabia)
- P.E. (Gad.E.)  
10 : ... ἔτους τῆς κολων(ίας) ςκψ', κατ' Ἀραβα(ς) ἔτους μβ' ... (era of Gadara + Hegira era)

### 5. Inscriptions with more than one calendars

- P.E. (Sc.E.) 17 : ἐν μη(νὶ) Πανίμου κ[.]', ἐν μη(νὶ) Σε(π)τ(εμβρίου)
- E.P.A. 218 : μη(νός) Ὑπερβερετέου ε', Δυξιζίζιου(?) [ε]'
- E.P.A. 352 : τῇ κατὰ Γάζ(ην) μη(νὶ) Ἀπελλαίῳ κδ', ... κατὰ δὲ Ἐλούσην Αὐ-  
δοναίῳ δ' ... τῷ αὐτῷ μη(νὶ) Ὠγδοναίου ε' ...
- E.E. 6B : τῇ η' μην(ός) Μαΐου, Ἀρτεμηςίου ιη', ...
- E.E. 9 : μη(νὶ) Ἀπριλλίου κγ', κατὰ δὲ Ἀραβας Ἀρτεμισίου γ', ...

### 6. Era years described in ordinal numbers

ἔτους πρώτου τῆς πόλεως	C.E. 1
ἔτους τρίτου ἐπαρχείας	E.P.A. 1
ἔτους δευτέρου πεντηκοστοῦ	E.P.A. 7
ἔτους ἐνανηκοστοῦ	E.P.A. 14
[ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχ]είας ἑκατοστοῦ τριακοστοῦ τετάρτου	E.P.A. 28
L πέμπτου πεντηκοστοῦ ἑκατοστοῦ	P.E (Ger.E.) 38
τὸ ἐν ξρ' ἔτος	E.S. 3
ἔτους δεσσιακοστοῦ	E.P.A. 131
ἔτους διακο(σ)τοῦ (καὶ) [δ]εκάτου	E.P.A. 67
ἔτους διακοσσιαστοῦ εἰκοστοῦ πρώτου τῆς ἐπαρχίας	E.P.A. 83
ἔτους [δευτέρου πεντηκοστοῦ] διακοσιοστοῦ	R.Y. 90
ἔτους τριακοσιοστοῦ	P.E. (Ger.E.) 67
τοῦ ἔτους πεντακοσιοστοῦ τριακοστοῦ ἕκτου	E.P.A. 500
τοῦ ἔτους τριακοσιοστοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ θ'	E.P.A. 201
τοῦ ἔτους τριακοσιοστοῦ ἐβ[δ]ομηκοστοῦ	E.P.A. 207
ἐν ἔτι τετρακοσ(ιστῷ) πεντη[κοστῷ] ἐβδόμῳ	E.Pt. 327
ἔτους ἡνονικ[ο]στοῦ φ'	E.Pt. 5

### 7. Division of the year in semesters

πρώτης ἑξαμήνου	P.E. (G.E.) 99
τὴν πρώτην ἑξά[μηνον τ]οῦ δρ'	P.E. (Ger.E.) 26
τὴν πρώτην [ν ἑξά]μηνον τοῦ ερ'	P.E. (Ger.E.) 27
(δευτέρας) ἑξαμήνου	P.E. (G.E.) 97
(δευτέρας) ἑξαμήνου	P.E. (G.E.) 101

## 8. Macedonian months

### Ἀπελλαῖος

#### *Genitive*

Ἀπελλαίου	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 55, 64, 77; P.E. (or Gab.E.) 95; P.E. (G.E.) 140
Ἀπελαίου	: E.P.A. 467
Ἀπελλέου	: E.P.A. 166, 207; C.E. 8

#### *Dative*

Ἀπελλαίῳ	: E.P.A. 224, 293, 352
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#### *Abbreviations*

Ἀπ(ελλαίου?)	: E.P.A. 223
Ἀπελ(λαίου)	: E.P.A. 94, 322, 323, 512
Ἀπελ(λαίῳ)	: E.P.A. 531
Ἀπελλ(αίου)	: E.P.A. 295
Ἀπελλ(αίῳ)	: E.P.A. 292, 360

### Ἀρτεμίσιος

#### *Genitive*

Ἀρτεμσίου	: T.E. 5; P.E.: (Ger.E.) 40, (G.E.) 125, 127; E.E. 6, 9
Ἀρτεμησίου	: P.E. (G.E.) 128; E.P.A. 230; E.E. 6
Ἀρτεμεσίου	: E.P.A. 391, 471
[Ἀρ]τημησίου	: E.P.A. 394

#### *Dative*

Ἀρτεμσίῳ	: E.P.A. 69
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#### *Abbreviations*

Ἀρτ(εμισίου)	: E.P.A. 312, 515
Ἀρτεμ(ισίου)	: A.E. 3; E.P.A. 258, 484
Ἀρτεμισ(ίου)	: E.P.A. 468
[Ἀρτ]εμισ(ίῳ)	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 84
[Ἀρτ]εμησ(ίου)	: E.E. 10
Ἀρτεμεσ(ίου)	: E.P.A. 455
Ἀρτημισ(ίου)	: E.P.A. 425
Ἀρτεμ(ι)σίου	: E.E. 7

### Αύδναϊος/Αύδυναϊος

#### *Genitive*

Αύδναίου	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 86
Αύδονέου	: E.P.A. 150
Ὅγδονέου	: E.P.A. 498
Ὠγδοναίου	: E.P.A. 352
Ὠγδ < ο > νέου	: E.P.A. 497
Ὠγδονίου	: E.P.A. 523

#### *Dative*

Αύδωναίῳ	: P.E. (G.E.) 108; E.P.A. 352
[Αύ]δονέῳ	: E.P.A. 336
Αύγδωναίῳ	: E.P.A. 487
Ἀδωνέῳ	: E.P.A. 520

#### *Abbreviations*

Αύδ(υναίου)	: E.P.A. 419, 421
Αύδυ(ναίου)	: E.Pan. 4
Αύδον(αίου)	: E.P.A. 406

### Γορπιαῖος

#### *Genitive*

Γορπιαίου	: E.P.A. 387
Γορπιέου	: E.P.A. 501
Γωρπιέου	: E.P.A. 458
Γαρπιέου	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 69; P.E. (Ph.E.) 93; E.P.A. 189

#### *Dative*

Γορπιαίῳ	: E.P.A. 254
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#### *Abbreviations*

Γορ(πιαίῳ)	: E.E. 11
Γορπ(ιαίου)	: E.P.A. 225, 247, 358, 440, 460; E.E. 11
Γορπ(ιαίῳ)	: P.E. (G.E.) 125; E.P.A. 485
Γορπι(αίου)	: E.P.A. 351
Γορπι(αί)ου	: E.P.A. 275
Γορπ(ι)αίου	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 63

**Δαίσιος***Genitive*

Δαισίου	: Az.E. 2; P.E.: (Ger.E.) 49, 83, (G.E.) 132, 138; E.P.A. 397
Δεσίου	: A.E. 5; E.P.A. 197; E.E. 1, 2, 7
Δισίου	: C.E. 13
Δαάσου	: E.P.A. 172

*Dative*

Δαισίω	: A.E.(?) 7; E.P.A. 357
Δεσίω	: P.E. (G.E.) 119; E.P.A. 457, 476, 516

*Abbreviations*

Δ(αι)σ(ίου)	: E.P.A. 431
Δαισ(ίου)	: E.P.A. 430, 439, 475
Δαισ(ίω)	: E.P.A. 289
Δεσ(ίου)	: E.P.A. 339, 492
Δεσ(ίω)	: E.P.A. 477
Δησ(ίου)	: E.P.A. 469
Δισ(ίω)	: E.P.A. 345

**Δῖος***Genitive*

Δίου	: T.E. 8; A.E.(?) 8; P.E. (Ger.E.) 41; E.P.A. 152, 201, 282-286, 300, 378, 451, 505-507
Δείου	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 51, 52

*Dative*

Δίω	: A.E.(?) 9; P.E. (Ger.E.) 70, 73, 82; E.P.A. 259, 347, 454, 472, 496, 519
Δίο	: E.P.A. 418

*Abbreviations*

Δ(ίου?)	: E.P.A. 365
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**Δύστρος***Genitive*

Δύστρου	: T.E. 6; P.E. (Ger.E.) 67; E.Pt. 1; E.P.A. 194, 306, 462, 463, 482
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*Dative*

Δύστρω : E.E. 13

*Abbreviations*

Δύστ(ρω) : C.E. 11  
 Δύστρ(ου) : E.P.A. 250  
 Δύστρ(ω) : E.P.A. 366  
 Δύστ(τ)ρου : E.P.A. 123

**Λῶος***Genitive*

Λῶου : T.E. 9; P.E.: (Ger.E.) 56, 58, (G.E.) 116, 117, 123, 134;  
 E.P.A. 234, 340, 398, 399b, 490, 493  
 Λόου : P.E. (G.E.) 139; E.P.A. 313

*Dative*

Λῶω : P.E. (G.E.) 107, 114; E.P.A. 270  
 Λόω : E.P.A. 480

*Abbreviations*

Λῶο(υ) : E.P.A. 290

**Ξανδικός/Ξανθικός***Genitive*

Ξανδικοῦ : P.E.: (Ger.E.) 48, 62, 68, (G.E.) 109  
 Ξανθικοῦ : P.E.: (Ger.E.) 85, (G.E.) 133; E.P.A. 367, 390, 408, 509

*Dative*

Ξανθικῶ : E.P.A. 261, 324, 403

*Abbreviations*

Ξανθ(ικῶ) : C.C. 10  
 Ξανθι(κοῦ) : E.P.A. 314  
 Ξανθικ(οῦ) : P.E. (G.E.) 118, 126; E.P.A. 510; E.E. 14  
 Ξανθικ(ῶ) : E.P.A. 505



**Πάνημος***Genitive*

Πανήμου	: P.E.: (Ger.E.) 39, (G.E.) 130; E.P.A. 373, 522
Πανέμου	: P.E. (G.E.) 110; E.P.A. 267, 344, 368, 392, 499
Πηνήμου	: T.E. 4

*Dative*

Πανέμφ	: E.P.A. 68, 524
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*Abbreviations*

Πα(νήμου)	: E.P.A. 393
Π(ανήμο)υ or	: E.P.A. 246
Π(εριτίο)υ	
Παν(ήμου)	: E.P.A. 233, 405
Παν(ήμφ)	: E.P.A. 504
Πανίμ(ου)	: P.E. (Sc.E.) 17
Πανέμ(ου)	: E.P.A. 394, 478
Πανήμο(υ)	: P.E. (G.E.) 135; E.P.A. 7

**Περίτιος***Genitive*

Περίτιου	: P.E.: (Ger.E.) 79, 87, (G.E.) 112, 121; E.P.A. 11, 16, 353; E.E. 8; C.E. 9
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*Abbreviations*

Π(ερ)ι(τίου?)	: E.P.A. 135
Π(εριτίο)υ or	: Cf. Πάνημος
Π(ανήμο)υ	
Περ(ιτίου)	: E.P.A. 208, 407, 426
Περιτ(ίου)	: P.E. (G.E.) 136; E.P.A. 400, 422, 441
Περιτίο(υ)	: E.P.A. 399a

**Ὑπερβερεταῖος***Genitive*

Ὑπερβερεταίου	: P.E. (Ger.E.) 74; Mut. E.P.A. 20
Ὑπερβερετέου	: P.E. (G.E.) 113; E.P.A. 48, 148, 218; E.E. 4

*Abbreviations*

Ὑπ(ερβερεταίου)	: E.P.A. 377
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Ὑπερ(βερεταίου)	: E.P.A. 332
Ὑπερβ(ερεταίου)	: E.P.A. 86, 238, 264, 470
Ὑπερβ(ερεταίῳ)	: C.E. 12
Ὑπερβερ(εταίου)	: E.E. 5
[Ὑπερ]βηρ(εταίου)	: E.P.A. 450
Ὑπερβερετ(αίου)	: P.E.: (Ger.E.) 60, (G.E.) 138; E.P.A. 489

## 9. Roman months

### Ἰανουάριος

#### *Genitive*

Ἰανουαρίου	: E.P.A. 265; E.E. 12
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#### *Dative*

[Ἰαν]ουαρίῳ	: P.E. (E.H.) 1
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### Φεβρουάριος

#### *Genitive*

Φιβραρίου	: E.Pt. 2
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#### *Dative*

[Φεβρ]ουαρίῳ	: P.E. (E.H.) 1
Φεβρουαρήῳ	: S.E. 8

#### *Abbreviations*

Φεβρου(αρίου)	: E.P.A. 445
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### Μάρτιος

#### *Dative*

Μαρτίῳ	: E.P.A. 277, 494
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#### *Abbreviations*

Μαρτί(ῳ)	: E.P.A. 116
Μα(ρ)τίο	: E.P.A. 530

**Ἀπρίλιος***Genitive*

Ἀπριλίου : E.Pt. 4; C.E. 7  
 Ἀπριλλίου : E.E. 9

*Dative*

Ἀπρ[ι]λ(ι)ῳ : E.P.A. 240

*Abbreviations*

Ἀπ(ριλίου) : E.P.A. 513

**Μάιος***Genitive*

Μαΐου : E.E. 6

*Dative*

Μαΐῳ : E.P.A. 474

**Ἰούνιος***Genitive*

Ἰουνίου : E.P.A. 411

*Dative*

Ἰουνίῳ : E.P.A. 334; E.D. 1

**Ἰούλιος***Dative*

Ἰουλίῳ : P.E. (E.H.) 3

**Αὐγουστος***Dative*

Αὐγούστ[ῳ] : P.E. (Ger.E.) 80  
 Ἀγούστῳ : C.C. 46

**Σεπτέμβριος***Genitive*

Σεπ[τ]εμβρίου : P.E. (Ger.E.) 88

*Dative*

Σεπτεμβρίῳ : E.P.A. 327

*Abbreviations*

Σε(π)τεμβρίου : P.E. (Sc.E.) 17

[Σε]πτεμβρ(ίου) : R.Y. 107

Σεπτεμβρ(ίῳ) : E.P.A. 528

**Ὀκτώβριος***Dative*

Ὀκτωβρίῳ : E.P.A. 526

**Νοέμβριος***Genitive*

Νοεμβρίου : S.E. 7; R.Y. 106

*Dative*

Νοεμβρί[ῳ] : P.E. (Ger.E.) 81

*Abbreviations*

Νοεμβρ(ίου) : E.P.A. 481

**Δεκέμβριος***Genitive*

Δεκεμβρίου : R.Y. 105

*Dative*

Δεκεμβρίῳ : P.E. (Gad.E.) 10; I.C. 28

### 10. Arabian months

ᾠβ	: E.P.A. 30
Σιουάν	: E.P.A. 40

### 11. Egyptian months

<Θ>ούτ	: E.D. 5
Μεχίρ	: P.E. (R.E.) 142
Π(α)χ(ών)	: E.D. 4
Χοίακ	: E.P.A. 287

### 12. Month days (with the exception of those expressed in cardinal numbers)

<έ>ν μ(ηνι) Ἄπελ(αίω) πρ(ώτη) ἡ(μέρα)	E.P.A. 360
Λφου πρ(ώτ[η])	P.E. (Ger.E.) 56
[έν μην]ι Πανέ[μου] πρ(ώτη)	E.P.A. 344
μη(νός) Ἰανουαρίου πρ(ώτη)	E.P.A. 265
τῇ Δεσίου τρίτη	E.E. 1
τῇ μηνός Ἄπελ(λαίου) πέμ(τη)	E.P.A. 512
τῇ μηνι Ὑπερβ(ερεταίου) εἴ(ς) ἡμέρα	E.P.A. 470
έν μηνι Δεκεμβρίου πέμ(τη)	P.E. (Gad.E.) 10
μηνι Παν(ήμω) ἕκ(τη)	E.P.A. 504
πρ(ός) καλ(ανδών) Ἰουνίων	C.C. 40
Ὑπερβερετέου δεκά(τη)	E.P.A. 148
έν μηνι Πανέμου δεκά(τη)	E.P.A. 368
έν μηνι Πανήμου δεκά(τη)	E.P.A. 373
έν μηνι Φιβραρίου δεκά(τη)	E.Pt. 2
Πανέμω δωδεκά(τη)	E.P.A. 368
Πανήμο(υ) ἑπτακαιδεκ(άτη)	E.P.A. 7
έν μ(ηνι) Ἄπελ(λαίω) ἡμ(έρα) ιη΄	E.P.A. 293
Δίου εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνός	E.P.A. 201
μηνός Ἰανουαρίου εἰκάδι	E.E. 12
Δύστρου δευτέρω(ς) καὶ εἰκάδι	P.E. (Ger.E.) 67
μη(νι) καλανδ(όν) κθ΄	E.P.A. 429
τῇ νουμ(η)ν(ίω) ἐσ(χά)τ(η) Ἀπ(ριλίου)	E.P.A. 513

### 13. Days of the week

ἡμέ(ρα) Κυ[ρι]ακ(ῆ)	E.P.A. 352
ἡμέρα Κυριακῆ	E.P.A. 368
ἡμέρα δευτέρα	P.E. (Gad.E.) 10
ἡ[μέ](ρα) β΄	E.P.A. 352
τῇ δευτέρω(ς) τῆς ἐβδ(ομάδος)	E.P.A. 513
ἡμέρα σελήνης	E.P.A. 148
τῇ τρίτῃ τοῦ σάμβατος	E.P.A. 368

ἐβδώμ(η) ἡμέρ(α)  
ἡμέρ(α) ζ'

E.P.A. 237  
E.E. 9

#### 14. Hours

ῥαν β'  
ῥαν ὀγδόην  
ῥ(αν) θ'  
ῥαν τρίτῃ τῆς νυκτός

E.E. 9  
E.P.A. 368  
E.P.A. 352  
E.P.A. 368

#### 15. Words and expressions designating time units

##### ἐβδομάς

###### *Genitive*

τῆς ἐβδ(ομάδος) : E.P.A. 513  
τοῦ σάμβατος : E.P.A. 368  
(hellenized form of the  
Hebrew word shabua  
=week)

##### ἑξάμηνος

###### *Genitive*

ἑξαμήνου : P.E.(G.E.) 97, 99, 101

###### *Accusative*

ἑξάμηνον : Rest. P.E.(Ger.E.) 26, 27

##### ἔτος

###### *Genitive*

ἔτους : S.E. 1, 4, 7, 8; T.E. 3, 4; A.E. 1, 3, 5, 6; P.E.: (E.H.) 2, 3,  
(Gad.E.) 9, 10, (E.P.) 11, (Sc.E.) 14, 17, 18, 20, (Ger.E.) 28,  
29, 32-40, 42-45, 47-53, 56-59, 62-69, 90, (G.E.) 96, 97,  
107, 108, 115, 120, 121, 127, 130, 140, 142; E.Pt. 1, 2, 3;  
E.Pan. 1, 4; E.P.A. 1, 3-5 (=R.Y. 71), 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 25,  
29, 30, 34, 36, 37, 39-41, 46, 47, 58, 62, 67, 73, 75, 76, 78,  
79, 81-83, 87, 88, 94, 95, 101, 103, 109, 111, 112, 114-116,  
118, 122, 128, 131, 144, 151, 152, 154, 158-160, 166, 169,  
173, 178, 179, 182-185, 192, 198, 199, 203, 206, 223, 226,  
236, 241, 251, 252, 254, 255, 261, 265, 266, 273, 275, 276,

282, 284, 286, 289, 296, 297, 300, 306, 330, 331, 353, 356,  
360, 367, 368, 378, 390, 391, 392, 394, 398, 399a, 400, 411,  
419, 420, 427, 429, 435, 447, 451, 452, 454, 458, 463, 467,  
470, 471, 487, 497, 499, 501, 506, 508, 510-512, 523,  
527-530; E.E. 1, 3-9, 12; E.D. 1; C.E. 1-5, 7-9; T.P. 3  
(=Ger.E. 46); C.C. 42, 43 (=E.P.A. 106); R.Y. 48-50, 52B,  
53, 55, 56, 58, 61, 62, 64-70, 73, 75-79, 81-83, 86-99, 104,  
105, 107; Rest. T.E. 1, E.P.A. 28, C.C. 34, 35, R.Y. 74, 84.

ἔτοις : E.E. 11A  
ἡτους : S.E. 5; E.P.A. 2, 108, 157, 204, 384, 498  
σεννότου : E.P.A. 56  
(hellenized form of the  
Hebrew word shennat  
= year)

#### *Dative*

ἔτει : P.E. (Ph.E.) 91, 92; E.P.A. 9, 33, 104, 134; C.C. 29 (=R.Y.  
72)  
ἔτι : E.Pan. 2; E.P.A. 16, 50, 63, 66, 71, 72, 86, 93, 98, 105, 110,  
119, 120, 124, 130, 135, 138, 143, 153, 168, 172, 177, 180,  
181, 202, 205, 214, 216, 274, 369  
ἐτη : E.P.A. 38

#### *Accusative*

ἔτος : E.P.A. 31, 69

#### *Abbreviations*

L (=ἔτους) : P.E. 4, 6, (Ger. E.) 23, 25, 30, 31, 38, 41, 89; E.P.A. 42;  
R.Y. 51, 52A, 57  
S (=ἔτους) : E.P.A. 320, 440  
ἔ(τους) : T.E. 5; E.Pan. 5; E.P.A. 21, 22, 388  
ἔ(τει) : E.P.A. 176  
ἔτ(ους) : P.E.: (E.H.) 1, P.E. 5, 8, (Sc.E.) 13, (G.E.) 101; E.Pan. 3;  
E.P.A. 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 23, 43-45, 48, 49, 51-53, 57, 61,  
64, 65, 70, 74, 77, 84, 92, 113, 117, 121, 125, 133, 141, 147,  
165, 187, 229, 233, 242, 245-247, 249, 250, 264, 268, 278,  
283, 287, 293, 305, 310-312, 315, 326, 339-341, 348, 381,  
385, 389, 393, 399b, 434, 449, 453, 462, 464, 479, 484, 513;  
E.E. 11B, 13, 14; C.E. 6, 10, 11; R.Y. 63, 80, 100, 101, 103;  
Rest. P.E. 7, (Sc.E.) 19, E.P.A. 324, E.D. 3  
ἐτ(ει) : P.E. (Ger.E.) 84; E.P.A. 24, 27, 32, 54, 55, 60, 80, 146  
ἡτ(ους) : S.E. 6  
εἰτ(ους) : E.P.A. 217  
ἐτ(ου)ς : E.Pt. 5  
ἐτο(υ)ς : E.P.A. 85, 100, 186, 346, 366  
ἐτου(ς) : E.P.A. 18, 20, 218, 489, 507, 521; R.Y. 85  
(ἐ)τους : E.P.A. 455

*Augmented forms**Genitive*

- τοῦ ἔτους : T.E. 6-8; A.E.(?) 8; Az.E. 2; P.E.: (E.Pel.) 21, (Ger.E.) 24, 75, 82, 87, (Ph.E.) 94, (G.E.) 109, 110, 112, 113, 116-119, 124, 126, 128, 133-135, 139; E.Pt. 4; E.P.A. 200, 201, 207, 209, 227, 238, 259, 267, 277, 285, 292, 302, 313, 314, 317, 323, 337, 344, 345, 349-352, 357, 373, 380, 382, 386, 422, 425, 457, 461, 476, 480, 481, 483, 488, 500, 503, 505, 514, 516, 519, 522, 524, 526; C.E. 13; C.C. 46 (=E.P.A. 263); Rest. E.P.A. 228, 279.
- τοῦ ἡτους : E.P.A. 304, 395
- τοῦ + numeral : T.E. 9; P.E.: (Ger.E.) 26, 27, (G.E.) 114, 122, 123, 132, 138B; E.P.A. 195, 377, 494

*Dative*

- τῷ ἔτει : T.E. 2; P.E. 22 (Ger.E.) 72, 74, 77-79, 81, 85, 88; R.Y. 103 (=E.P.A. 272)
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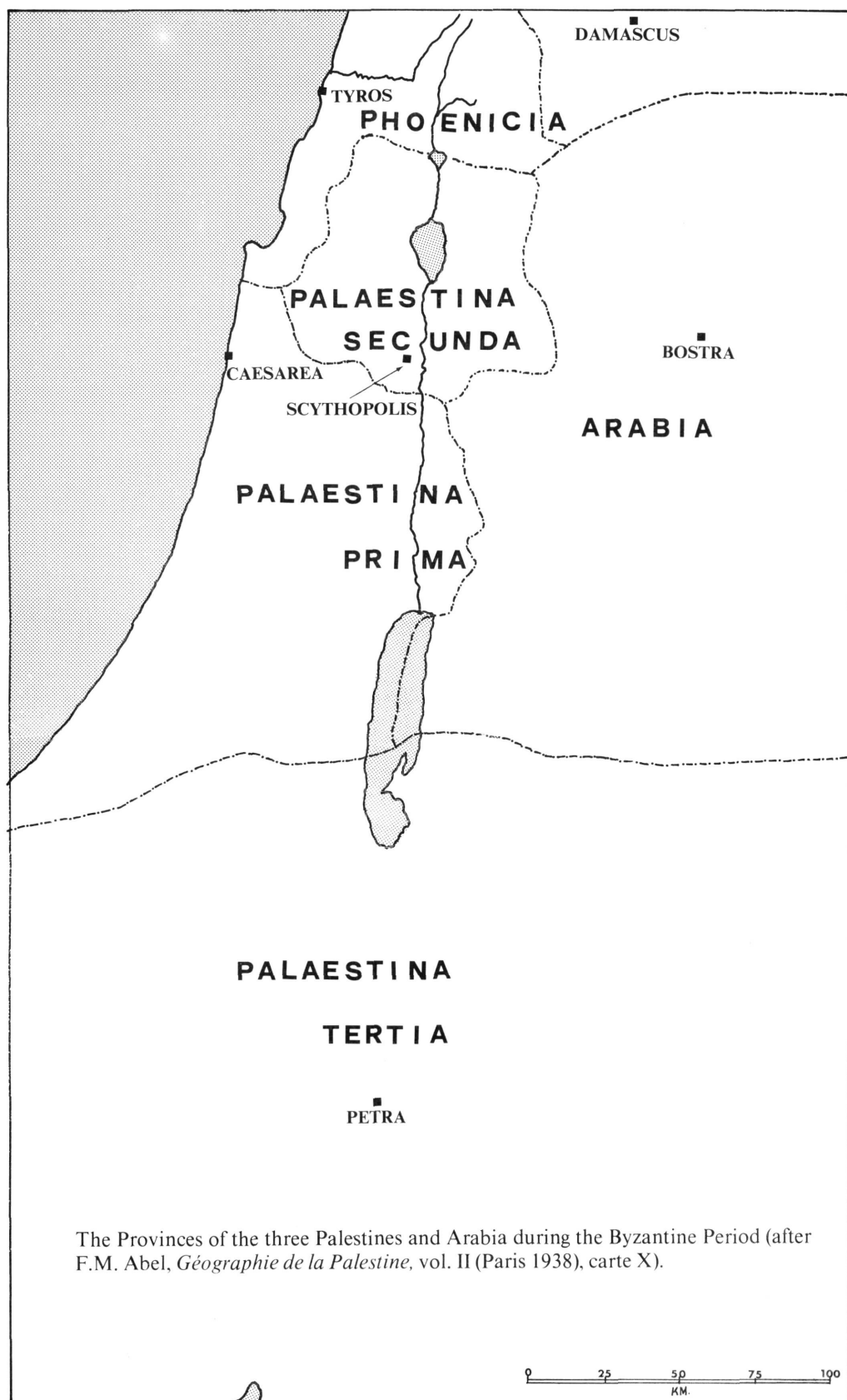
### Addendum

When this work was in press, three studies dealing with related subjects came to our attention. Of special importance for the chronological systems examined in the present book are two of them: a doctoral thesis with the title, *Studies in Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Palestinian Coinage under the Principate*, submitted by Alla Stein to Tel-Aviv University in October 1990, and an article by L.S.B. MacCoull and K.A. Worp titled "The Era of the Martyrs" and published in M. Capasso et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell' edizione della Charta Borgiana (Papyrologica Florentina XIX, Florence 1990)*. On this occasion we would like to thank Dr A. Stein for kindly providing us with a copy of the first part of her thesis, as well as Dr K.A. Worp for sending us an offprint of his article. Dr Stein in part one ("The Eras Used on the Coinage of the Palestinian Cities under the Principate") of her dissertation discusses thoroughly the eras of the Palestinian cities in chronological order based mainly on the numismatic evidence. This information combined with the epigraphical evidence used in this book can offer a more complete picture of dating practices in these areas. L.S.B. MacCoull and K.A. Worp, on the other hand, give in their article an especially well documented analysis of the "Era of the Martyrs", thus illuminating various aspects of its origin and use. As for the calendars, very interesting is the third study by E. Grzybek, *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque: problèmes de chronologie hellénistique (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 20, Basel 1990)*, which contributes substantially to the discussion about the original Macedonian calendar and its later assimilation to the Ptolemaic one.

Since 1990, when our systematic bibliographical control was completed, new dated inscriptions have been published or already known ones have been republished in the relevant periodicals. Among these the following epigraphical articles are selected because they include dated inscriptions from the areas and periods discussed in this study: A. Sartre, "Obbè fille de Sachamelos: un buste funéraire syrien" *Syria* 67 (1990), pp. 675-85; A. Łajtar, "Two Greek Inscriptions from Tell Kadesh (Upper Gallilee)", *ZPE* 89 (1991), pp. 155-57; V. Tzaferis, "Greek Inscriptions from Carmiel", *Atiqot* 21 (1992), pp. 129-34, no. 1; S. Dar and N. Kokkinos, "The Greek Inscriptions from Senaim on Mount Hermon", *PEQ* 124 (1992), pp. 9-25, no. 3.

# MAPS





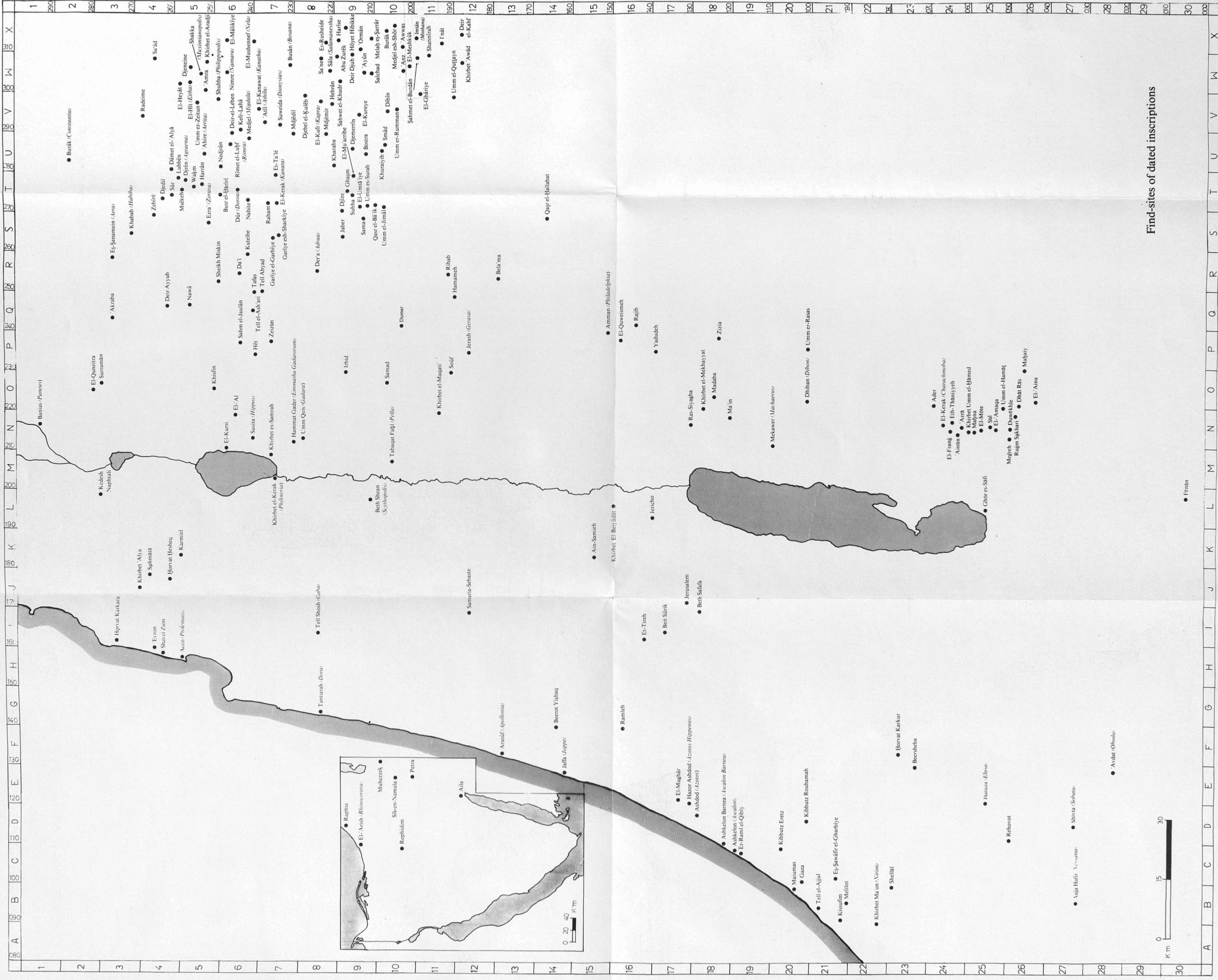
The Provinces of the three Palestines and Arabia during the Byzantine Period (after F.M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, vol. II (Paris 1938), carte X).



Territorial Division in the Provinces of the three Palestines and Arabia around AD 500 (after *RE*, Suppl. XIII (1973), cols. 417-18).







Find-sites of dated inscriptions



L. D. Loukopoulou, *Contribution à l'étude de la Thrace propontique* (MEAETHMATA 9; Athens 1989)

*Poikila (recueil d' articles)* (M. B. Sakellariou éd.) (MEAETHMATA 10; Athens 1990)

M. B. Hatzopoulos - Louisa D. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides* (MEAETHMATA 11; Athens 1992)

M. B. Sakellariou, *Between Memory and Oblivion* (MEAETHMATA 12; Athens 1991)

*Achaia und Elis in der Antike* (A. D. Rizakis éd.) (MEAETHMATA 13; Athens 1991)

M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Actes de vente d'Amphipolis* (MEAETHMATA 14; Athens 1991)

*Paysages d'Achaïe I. Le bassin du Péiros et la plaine occidentale* (A. D. Rizakis, éd.) (MEAETHMATA 15; Athens 1992)

Ph. Gauthier - M. B. Hatzopoulos, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Béroia* (MEAETHMATA 16; Athens 1993)



